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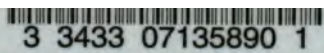
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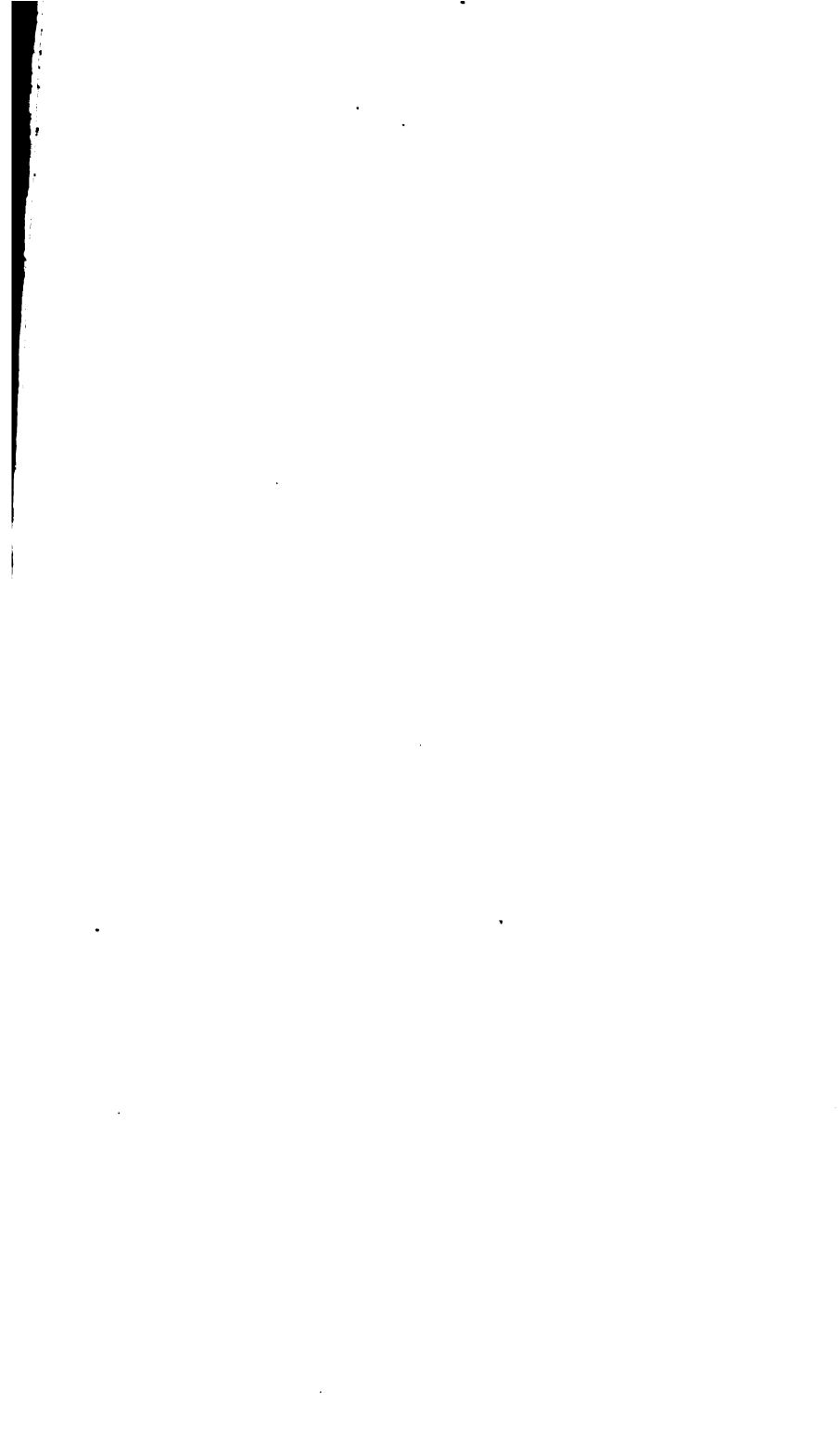
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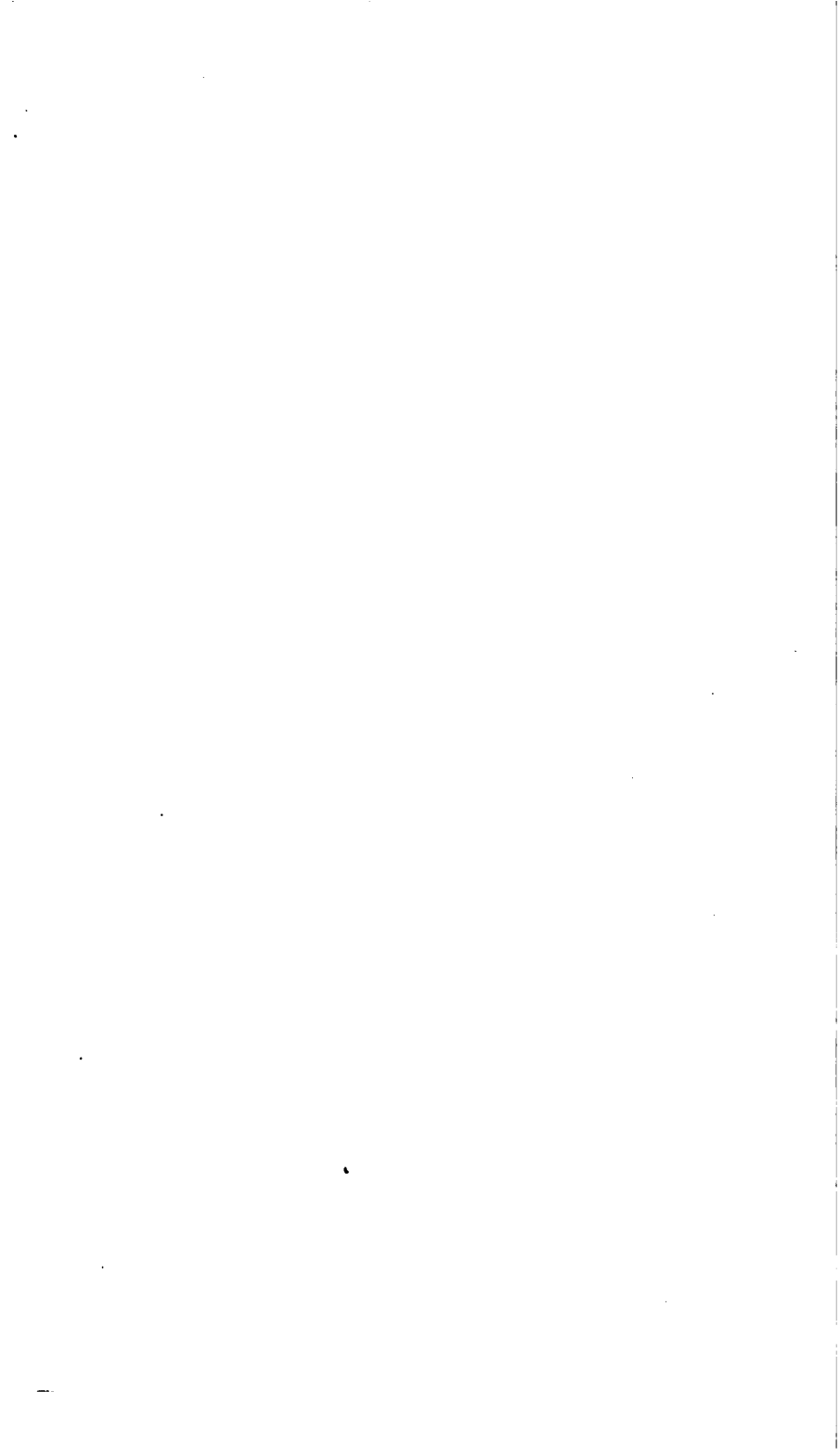


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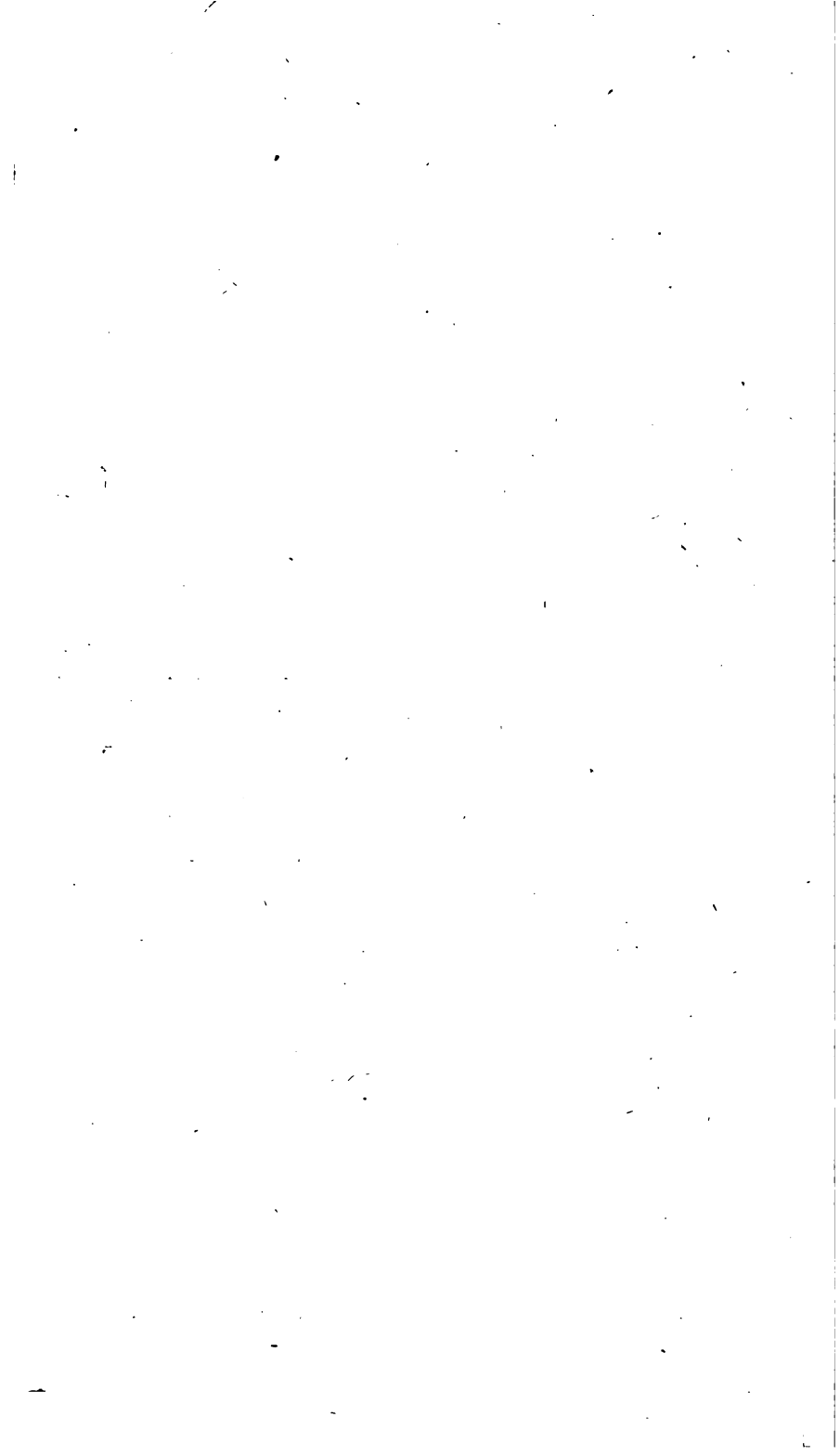




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ANNALS  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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ANNALS  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION;

OR,  
A CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF  
*Its Principal Events;*

WITH A VARIETY OF  
ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS  
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

---

BY  
A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE,  
MINISTER OF STATE.

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TRANSLATED  
BY R. C. DALLAS, Esq.  
FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR, WHICH HAS  
NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED.

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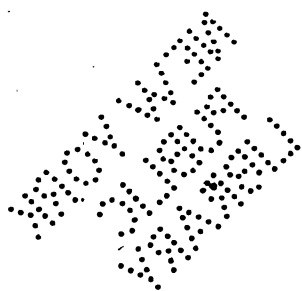
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# ANNALS

OF THE

## FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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### CHAPTER XIV.

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*The Sovereignty of the People an Absurdity  
—Its Consequences—Mob of Palais-Royal  
Patriots occasioned by the Veto—They  
send a Deputation to M. de Lally—Ano-  
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*Mr. Necker accompanied with a Memorial upon the Veto—The Assembly pass over the Memorial without reading it—The suspensive Veto granted to the King—Fundamental Points of the French Monarchy—The Throne hereditary—Discussion of the Rights of the Spanish Branch of the House of Bourbon—The King's Observations upon the Resolutions of the 4th of August—Discontent and Insolence of the Assembly—Failure of Public Credit—Manœuvres and Murmurs occasioned by the Scarcity of Coin—The King and Queen send their Plate to the Mint—Report made by Mr. Necker—He proposes a Patriotic Contribution—The Clergy offer the Plate belonging to the Churches—Remarkable Speech from Mirabeau—The Assembly confidently adopt Mr. Necker's Plan.*

**JACOBINISM** has formed the sovereignty of the People into a principle, in order to make it the rallying cry of Rebellion, and the essential dogma of Revolution. This principle, or rather this gross error, has been maintained and combated by arguments so profound and learned, that it is now become

come an abstract political question; above the understanding of the common run of mankind. Too melancholy have been the consequences of it not to make us eager to remove the obscurity with which it is still enveloped. The simple light of common sense is enough to show its absurdity; for absurd we must call every assemblage of words which presents no rational meaning, and to which we cannot even affix the idea of any thing possible.

The Factious, whose intention it was to annihilate the Monarchy, took great care not to let it be known that their object was to seize the supreme power themselves. "It is to you," said they to the multitude—"it is to you that the sovereignty belongs, from you it has been usurped; there were People before there were Kings; Kings were made by the People; therefore, it is you who are the Sovereign, and all we want is to restore you your rights."

Those who have combated these sophisms \* are by far too metaphysical in their reason-

\* Nobody attacked them with more force than *M. Malouet* in the first Assembly. See his *Opinions*,

reasonings. The People comprehend only simple ideas, and we must present no others to them if we wish them to understand us. Thus, instead of attempting to prove “ *that the principle of Sovereignty is in the People, but that the exercise of the Sovereignty ought always to be separated from its principle, so as that the People, who produce the elements of it, should discover it no more but in a visible and commanding Representation which impresses them with obedience.* ”—I would have very plainly stated the following evident truths :

A Nation without a Government is not a social body, but only a mass, more or less numerous, of persons living in a savage state, and always subject to the law of the strongest : this sovereignty is that of the lion or the tiger.

When the majority of persons in such a Nation have determined on any form of Government whatever, it becomes a social body, and the whole of the individuals together who compose that society is denominated by the word *People*.

vol. iii. pages 48. 50. 144. 149. 152, and 153; and the Memoirs of the Archbishop of *Aix* relative to Avignon.

As

As there can exist no social body without a Government, or Government without Sovereignty, the formation of the social body is the original cause of Sovereignty.

Sovereignty consists in the right of making laws united with the power necessary to enforce them; these are its only and essential elements.

The Legislative and Executive powers neither exist nor can be exercised but by delegation, except in the case of conquest.—Sovereignty, then, is a power essentially and necessarily delegated.

The right of delegating this power, and that of exercising it, are two rights absolutely distinct which can never be united by the People; the former is the only one they can possibly exercise, and consequently the only one they can claim.

A Government without Sovereignty could not exist; for it could govern nothing. It is to the Government, then, that Sovereignty is inseparably united.

Great care must be taken to distinguish between the Government and Sovereignty.—The form of the Government, that is to say, the number of persons to whom the exercise of Sovereignty is delegated, may



vary ; but the Sovereignty is always immutable, and can only exist in the complete union of the Legislative and Executive powers.

A Nation forming themselves into a social body may choose the kind of Government that best suits them. In making their choice they exercise and consummate the only right that belongs to them, or that they can exercise as a National body.

The right of doing a thing physically impossible is a supposition void of sense.

It is physically impossible that a Nation composed of many millions of individuals should exercise in a mass the Legislative power ; they are therefore under the necessity of delegating the right of making or agreeing to laws for them.

It is physically impossible that such a Nation should exercise in a mass the Executive power ; for, on whom should they exercise it ? Where would be their subjects, if all the individuals were Co-Sovereigns ? They are therefore under the necessity of delegating also the power of enforcing or executing the laws.

In thus delegating the two powers which constitute the Sovereignty, the People cannot  
be

be said to dispossess themselves of it ; for, to dispossess ourselves of a right it must be vested in us : now, the right of doing a thing physically impossible cannot be vested any where.

The delegation of these two powers, which must necessarily follow the adoption of any form of Government whatever, is, comparing great things with small, a right similar to that exercised by a meeting of Inhabitants when they proceed to appoint a Mayor, an Alderman, and other Civil Officers ; or by an Army privileged to choose their General ; nor would it be more absurd to tell those Inhabitants that they are the Mayor and the Alderman, or the Army that they are the General, than to tell the People that they are the Sovereign. Yet this absurdity it is which has overthrown the most ancient and the finest Monarchy of Europe.

The People, who have never annexed any other idea to the words *Sovereign* and *Sovereignty*, than that of King and of Royalty, have argued thus—" The Nation is the Sovereign, the Sovereign is King : We are the Nation, therefore we are King."— And the cry of "*Vive le Roi*" became "*Vive la Nation*."

This simple idea led them to another not less so. "If the People be *Sovereign*, that is to say *King*, they ought to have subjects; for there cannot be a King without subjects. The Clergy, the Nobility, the Aristocrats, are not the People; these to be sure then must be our subjects." Such has been their logic, and they have reigned over their subjects according to their mode, by pillaging them, and cutting their throats\*.

In like manner was it the intention of the *Palais-Royal* Patriots to reign over the Assembly themselves, at the crisis when they

\* They who had thrown the Sovereignty into the hands of the Brigands, fearing to be in their turn pillaged and massacred, to pervert the danger, broached the maxim of *political equality*. The People, who as little understood this phrase as that of *sovereignty*, annexed an idea to it that was most agreeable to their vanity and their covetousness. As soon as the Clergy, Nobility, and Aristocrats, were annihilated, the classes of the inhabitants were all confounded in that of the People. The Sovereignty, become the right of all, had no object for its exercise, and the bloody anarchy that was the consequence of this left it in the hands of the most determined villains. Thus, as the word *sovereignty of the People* had dethroned the King, the word *equality* dethroned the People.

were discussing the great question of the Royal assent. The Electors of Paris informed the Minister of the commotions in the Capital, by a letter dated the 30th of August, at ten at night. This letter, communicated by *M. de St. Priest*, was as follows :

“ The Assembly of the Representatives  
 “ of the Capital charge me to inform you  
 “ that there is a considerable number of ci-  
 “ tizens assembled in the *Palais-Royal*,  
 “ who talk of proceeding to Versailles.—  
 “ The Assembly have desired the Comman-  
 “ der in Chief to give orders for putting a  
 “ stop to it, and for preventing the conse-  
 “ quences of this mob. We thought it pro-  
 “ per to inform you of it, that precautions  
 “ might be taken.”

Another letter of the same night, dated at two o'clock, informed the Minister, that the steps taken by *M. de la Fayette* had subdued the ferment of the *Palais-Royal* meetings, and restored peace.

The reading of these letters was followed by intelligence much less tranquillising. *M. de Lally* mentioned, that in the night he had been called upon by a Deputation, composed of a Lawyer and an Engineer,  
 who

who had told him “ that they were solemnly  
“ deputed to him as a good citizen, to deliver into his hands a motion which had  
“ been drawn up in the *Palais-Royal*, and  
“ which was to be sent round next day to  
“ all the districts; that the tendency of it  
“ was, to call for an election of new Deputies, and an impeachment of those turned  
“ out, their persons ceasing to be inviolable; and that the number of the Deputies set down as Traitors and Aristocrats,  
“ who were for passing the *absolute veto*,  
“ was considerable.”

The President then read the following anonymous letter directed to him, and which he had just received :

“ The Patriotic Assembly of the *Palais-Royal* have the honour to make it known  
“ to you, that if the Aristocratic Faction,  
“ formed by some of the Nobility, Clergy,  
“ and a hundred-and-twenty ignorant and  
“ corrupt members, continue to disturb the  
“ general harmony, and still insist upon the  
“ *absolute assent*; 15,000 men are ready to  
“ enlighten their country-seats and houses,  
“ and particularly your own.”

The Secretaries to the Assembly had received a letter much to the same purpose:—

“ Your

“ Your houses (it said) shall answer for  
 “ your opinions, and we hope that the old  
 “ lessons will begin anew. Look to it, and  
 “ take care of yourselves.”

The following are the heads of the motion that was delivered to *M. de Lally*:

“ We are now arrived at the critical moment of French Liberty. Being informed  
 “ that several members are restrained by  
 “ the different articles of their instructions,  
 “ we think it is time to recall them; and as  
 “ the person of a Deputy is sacred and inviolable, they may be impeached after  
 “ their recall.

“ The VETO does not belong to one man,  
 “ but to twenty-five millions.

“ The citizens assembled at the *Palais-Royal* are of opinion that the ignorant,  
 “ corrupt, and suspected Deputies should  
 “ be recalled.

“ It has been unanimously resolved, to  
 “ go immediately to Versailles, as well to  
 “ put a stop to the Aristocratic effervescence  
 “ there, as to protect the lives of the worthy  
 “ Deputies which are in danger\*.

“ Resolved at the *Palais-Royal*, August 30.”

Other

\* The framers of the Resolution had in fact set out,  
 at

Other Deputies also mentioned anonymous letters received by them. The boldest seized this occasion to display their intrepidity, while others preserved a marked silence. A motion was made and seconded, for removing the Assembly to another place, should the Mayor, and Commander of the bourgeois militia, not be able to answer for the tranquillity of Paris ; but *Target*, the advocate, known in the Revolution for his ridiculous phrase of *peace and concord followed by calm and tranquillity*, very aptly observed, that, as the last official letter of the Paris Electors mentioned that all was quiet, there were no grounds for a Resolution ; and the Assembly adopted his opinion.

It was beneath the dignity of a National Assembly to be alarmed, or even to give their attention to the ferment of some hundred idlers of the *Palais-Royal*, whose routs and assemblings the old police would have dispersed in an instant. But the Municipality, and Commander of the bourgeois militia, uniting the powers, had at their command more than means sufficient to repress all those patriotic extravagancies. They

at the head of about fifteen hundred persons ; but they were prevented from going on by the bourgeois militia.

might

might very easily have prevented the mobs; they might have extolled the wisdom and civism of the Assemblies of the districts, to enable themselves, without losing their popularity, to prohibit all other Assemblies, and consequently to shut up the Clubs and Coffee-houses at the *Palais-Royal*, where the most worthless fellows and most violent spirits of the Capital were collected, who while together kept up and increased their audacity to a formidable pitch, but dispersed in their respective districts would have made no impression.

The debate upon the Royal Assent, and on the absolute or suspensive VETO, was protracted to the 11th of September; when it was interrupted by the patriotic offerings of some female artists, who came to present to the Country their ear-rings, shoe-buckles, watch-chains, baubles, and other articles of jewelry in gold or silver, which were all gratefully received by the Assembly. These offerings soon became the signal for a general attack upon every person, of what condition soever, who had the imprudence to appear in the streets with gold watch-chains or silver-buckles, which were presently taken from them by bands of fishwomen, *in the*  
*name*



*name of the Nation, for the payment of the Public Debt.*

The *Palais-Royal* Patriots being compelled to renounce their project of going to Versailles, sent a Deputation to the Commune, demanding an immediate convocation of the Assemblies of the Districts, for the purpose of adopting a resolution upon the VETO, upon the recall or confirmation of the Deputies of Paris, and upon the necessity of drawing up new instructions, explanatory of the former, relative to the VETO\*. The Representatives of the Commune gave a firm answer to this Deputation, and passed a severe resolution, which for some time repressed those seditious operations: they charged the Commander in Chief of the

\* The people of Paris firmly believed that the *Veto* was a tax: in the country a much more dreadful idea was conceived of it. "Do you know (said an honest peasant to his neighbour) what the *Veto* is?"—"Not I."—"Then I'll tell you:—You have your porringer full of soup, the King tells you to spill it, spill it you must, that's all." Another, whom I asked what he understood by the *suspensive Veto*, against which he was pouring forth the most violent imprecations, answered, that "if the *sipensive* (mispronouncing the word) should pass, the King and his Ministers might hang whom they pleased." It was with some difficulty I convinced him of the contrary.

Bourgeois

Bourgeois Militia to make use of every force necessary against the disturbers of the peace, to cause them to be arrested and committed to prison, in order to be tried and punished as the case required. Several of them, and particularly a pretended Marquis of *St. Huruge*, one of the most noted brawlers at the *Palais-Royal*, were confined in the *Châtelet* till quiet was re-established.

The debate upon the Royal Assent took in also the arrangement of the Legislative body, or rather the question of its consisting of two chambers or one only. It was not without a view that these two questions, sufficiently important and distinct to have been treated separately, were brought together. The interest of the former depended entirely upon the manner in which the latter should be decided. With a Legislative Body, composed of two Chambers, having the mutual privilege of rejecting each what the other had resolved, independently of the Royal VETO, the enemies of the Throne would have had much less means of overturning it: and if the plan of the two Chambers had prevailed, there is no doubt they would have united all their efforts to prevent the VETO's being granted to the King. On

the other hand, with a Legislative Body consisting of a single Chamber, the absolute or suspensive VETO; without the power of dissolving the Assembly, could only be a useless prerogative to be shut up with the antiquated trappings of the Throne; or an instrument most fatal to the King who should attempt to use it. The arrangement then of the Legislative Body was first settled: on the 8th of September it was decided that it should be permanent, and on the 10th that it should consist but of one Chamber.

The next day, at the opening of the Sitting, the debate on the Royal Assent having been concluded, just as the question was about to be put to the vote, the President read a letter written to him by Mr. *Necker*, in which he observed, that the Ministers having thought it their duty to consult the King on the subject now before the Assembly, his Majesty, upon considering it, had authorised him to submit to the Assembly the Memorial which accompanied his letter.

The greatest service that the Ministers could have rendered the King on this occasion, would have been to have made him take the resolution of accepting no VETO, before it were decided whether his Majesty should

should or should not have the right of dissolving the Assembly, and of persisting in his refusal if that right were not granted him. Several Deputies, and among the rest *Mirabeau*, suspecting that this might be the object of Mr. *Necker's* Memorial, maintained, that supposing the King should refuse the VETO, that prerogative should nevertheless be annexed to the Royal authority. Those who were for passing the absolute VETO were afraid lest Mr. *Necker* should propose the suspensive. Both these motives concurred in producing a resolution that the Memorial should not be read. The question upon the Royal Assent was then reduced to three propositions, which were put to the vote in the following order :

1st. May the King refuse his assent to the Acts of the Legislative Power ?

2d. In the case of the King's refusing his assent, shall such refusal be suspensive or absolute ?

3d. In the case of the King's refusal being suspensive, for what time shall it last ?

The first proposition passed in the affirmative almost unanimously. On the second it was decided by 693 votes against 325, that the King's refusal should be suspensive.

The third proposition was adjourned till the next day ; but the important questions to which it gave birth, delayed the decision of it till the 21st, when it was decreed, conformably to what had been proposed by Mr. *Necker* in his Memorial which was published, that the Royal Assent could be suspended only for two Assemblies ; and that it could not be refused to a third Assembly, if the rejected plan of a law should be a second time presented by them.

In the interval between the Sitting of the 11th and that of the 21st, the Assembly recognised with acclamations, and declared unanimously as fundamental points of the French Monarchy,

1st. That the King's person was sacred and inviolable.

2dly. That the Throne was indivisible.

3dly. That the Crown was hereditary in the male line by order of primogeniture, to the total exclusion of females and their descendants.

On this occasion the great question of the rights of the House of Spain, and the validity of the renunciation made by *Philip V.* to the crown of France, was agitated. The warmth with which *Mirabeau* supported the

the interests of the branch of *Orleans* prolonged this debate for several Sittings, and rendered them very tumultuous: but the Assembly in spite of his efforts contented themselves with declaring, that by the article relative to the descent of the crown, nothing was meant to prejudice the effect of the renunciations\*.

Two days after the first decrees of the Assent were passed, the Assembly gave the King an opportunity of exercising this prerogative, and of estimating the exact value of it. They ordered that the articles decreed on the 4th of August, and drawn up in the following Sittings, should be presented to his Majesty: but whether they should be presented to receive his assent, or positively to be promulgated, was long the subject of altercation. They who held that the promulgation was all that was required maintained, that those resolutions being con-

\* One of the Members of the Assembly (*Biauzat*) moved, that it should be inserted in the Minutes that this great and important question had been discussed in the absence of the Duke of *Orleans*. "Very proper (said another Member from the other end of the Hall); but we must add also that it was discussed in the absence of the King of Spain." This piece of wit disconcerted the mover, and the motion fell to the ground.

stitutional, the King's assent was not wanting to them; a principle that was pretty generally acknowledged by the Assembly: but the difficulty lay in determining whether those resolutions were constitutional, or whether they were altogether, or in part, only acts of legislation. The latter opinion prevailed; and it was in consequence decided that the President should wait upon the King, to beseech him to give his assent to them. From this debate it was very evident that not only the Constitution was to be made without the King's concurrence, but that it would be the same with every decree which the Assembly should please to term Constitutional; nor was it long before they abused this opening.

In the Sitting of the 18th the President read the King's answer to the request that had been made to him, of assenting to the resolutions of the 4th of August and the following days. It was replete with moderation and wisdom. "Several of these articles (said his Majesty) are but the outlines of laws which it is necessary that the Assembly should complete. I wish to know how you mean to apply them: for, while I approve of the general spirit

“ of your resolutions, there are a few ar-  
“ ticles to which I could only give a con-  
“ ditional sanction. I will acquaint you  
“ with the result of my reflections, and  
“ those of my Council, on this subject.  
“ If afterwards I should find it necessary,  
“ I shall not hesitate to modify or even  
“ to relinquish my opinions. It will al-  
“ ways give me great pain to see or think  
“ differently from the Assembly.” This  
introduction was followed by very just ob-  
servations on each of the articles, the greater  
number of which his Majesty approved, and  
to which he promised to assent as soon as  
they were formed into laws.

This letter, written in the friendly style of  
a good father reasoning with his children,  
did not satisfy the Assembly, and exaspe-  
rated the more violent members to such a  
degree, that one of them (*Chapelier*) had the  
insolence to begin his speech with these  
words:—*The kind of language you have  
heard read from the King.* Several Mem-  
bers of the Order of the Nobility, shocked  
at the indecency of the expression, interrupted  
the speaker, and obliged him to change his  
tone: yet it was decreed on his motion, sup-  
ported by *Mirabeau* and the party, that the



President should instantly wait upon the King, not to ask as before his assent to the resolutions of the 4th of August, for it was decided they did not stand in need of that, but to beseech his Majesty to order the promulgation of them without delay. The President was charged at the same time to assure the King, that when the National Assembly went upon the detail of the laws, they would pay the most respectful attention to the reflections and observations which his Majesty had been good enough to communicate to them.

The King, in his answer to this second request, observed, that promulgation belonged only to laws completed and drawn up in a regular form, so that they could be immediately put into execution; but that as he approved the general spirit of the resolutions of the 4th of August, and several of their articles, he would order them to be published throughout the Kingdom. "I do not doubt (added his Majesty), from the disposition you manifest, that I shall be able with perfect justice to give my assent to all the laws you shall decree upon the various subjects contained in your Resolutions."

The

The Constitutionalists and Democrats were completely satisfied with this answer, which they considered as a proof that the King began to understand, that when they granted him the VETO, they meant nothing more than to impose upon him the obligation of assenting, without hesitation, to all the decrees the Assembly should please to present to him.

The attack made, by the Resolutions of the 4th of August, upon property of the highest importance and hitherto the most respected, completely extinguished the remains of credit from which Mr. *Necker* laboured to take advantage: his second loan was not more fortunate than his first; the patriotic offerings and donations multiplied in vain; they but the more exposed the penurious situation of the treasury, which was reduced to such miserable resources. This inevitable effect of the destruction of public credit was to be imputed, it was said, to the pretended scarcity of money; nor was it without a view that this imposition was propagated: it led to the belief of much more serious ones. The Aristocrats, already denounced in all the revolutionary pamphlets as engrossers of corn, and as attempting to sicken

the people of liberty by famine, were now also accused of engrossing the coin and of sending it out of the kingdom, in order to stop the Revolution by bankruptcy. A waggon belonging to the Prince of *Lambesc*, covered with a tilt marked with his arms, containing some of his goods, was reported to be loaded with gold, which the Queen was sending to the Emperor. It was stopped at the barrier; and driven to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where it was examined and detained till a decree of the Assembly was passed to suffer it to proceed on its way. But the story of the waggon of gold lost nothing of its effect; it was repeated with the same confidence, and always with some new exaggeration; sometimes as to the sum, and sometimes as to the number of waggons. A declaration made by a fishwoman or a workman at the *Hotel-de-Ville* was employed to confirm this pretended fact. It was by thus keeping the people in a perpetual state of distrust and irritation, that the factious were making way for the success of the decisive explosion they were meditating.

The murmurs upon the scarcity of money becoming daily more violent, the King and Queen took the resolution of sending their  
plate

plate to the Mint. When the Assembly were informed of it they appeared sensible of the sacrifice, and endeavoured to prevent its being put into execution. They directed the President to go instantly to the King, and beseech him to keep his plate. — “ I  
“ am extremely sensible (replied the King)  
“ of the attention shown me by the Assem-  
“ bly, assure them of it for me; but I must  
“ notwithstanding persist in an intention  
“ which the scarcity of coin renders proper.  
“ Neither the Queen nor myself think any  
“ thing of this sacrifice.”

This example would certainly have been generally followed, but it was no doubt feared lest it should become a means of popularity to those who should follow it; and therefore all merit in the sacrifice was destroyed by making it a matter of necessity. It was declared, that a list of all those who should send their plate to the Mint, with the date of the days when sent, should be published every day in the Paris Journal, with an account of the number of ounces sent by each person: thus making it impossible for those who had plate to preserve it without exposing themselves to very serious insults from

from the mob, on the base report of a servant or workman.

In the sitting of the 24th of September, Mr. *Necker* attended, and made a very circumstantial report of the state of the Finances; in which he fixed the *deficit* at sixty-one millions, and declared the necessity of an extraordinary supply of eighty millions for the following year, the impossibility of attempting new loans, and the state of all the reductions and savings that could be made in the expences, &c.

The resources he proposed for the ensuing year consisted, 1st, Of a temporary tax, under the name of Voluntary Contribution, which he calculated would amount to the fourth of the income. 2d, In a contribution of two or three per cent. on the value of plate, money and jewels. “ The peasant’s wife (said he) will give her golden cross and ring, and not be the less happy for it.”

He informed the Assembly, that in order to provide for immediate wants, the King had authorised the receiving the silver that should be brought to the Mint, giving receipts to the bearers for the amount, and a  
note

note for the payment of its value. He proposed to fix the value of silver at 6 livres 15 sols\* the ounce in receipts payable at six months date, and at 7 livres 5 sols† in favour of those who should agree to carry their receipts to the loan without making it up with paper money. He depended also a great deal upon the *Caisse d'Escompte*, and thought it might be prudent to erect it into a National Bank.

It was in the debate that took place upon this report that the Archbishop of *Paris* offered, in the name of the Order of the Clergy, all the plate belonging to the churches that was not absolutely necessary to the decency of Divine worship. This generous sacrifice was attended with transports of joy, and general applause. Thus the Clergy, already robbed of their landed property, were also stripped of their moveables: their plate was wrought into crown-pieces, and shortly after their bells were melted into *fous*.

*Mirabeau*, who was known to be *Necker's* enemy, spoke as eloquently as artfully in favour of his plan: "The revenues of the

\* 54 livres the mark.

† 58 livres the mark.

" State

“ State (said he) are exhausted, the treasury  
“ empty, public authority has lost its spring;  
“ to-morrow will your interposition be ne-  
“ cessary, nay it is necessary to-day, at this  
“ very moment. In such circumstances it  
“ appears to me impossible either to offer a  
“ plan to the Minister at the head of the  
“ Finances, or to be scrupulous about the  
“ one he proposes to us.

“ It would not become your wisdom to  
“ render yourselves responsible for the event,  
“ either by rejecting means which you have  
“ no time to investigate, or by substituting  
“ any which you have not leisure thorough-  
“ ly to digest. The unbounded reliance  
“ which the Nation has at all times placed  
“ in the Minister whom their acclamations  
“ recalled, sufficiently authorises you, &  
“ should imagine, to give him unlimited  
“ confidence in the present circumstances.  
“ Agree to his proposals without answering  
“ for them, as you have not time to con-  
“ sider them: agree to them through confi-  
“ dence in the Minister, and think, that in  
“ bestowing upon him this kind of provi-  
“ sional Dictatorship, you fulfill your duty  
“ as Citizens and Representatives of the  
“ Nation.

“ If

“ If Mr. *Necker* should succeed, we will  
 “ bless his success, for which we shall have  
 “ given the better chance the more complete  
 “ our compliance, the more unrestrained  
 “ our confidence. Should he, which God  
 “ forbid ! fail in his painful enterprise,  
 “ great no doubt would be the shock re-  
 “ ceived by the National vessel in striking  
 “ the shoal on which her favourite pilot  
 “ should have run her : but the shock would  
 “ not discourage us ; you would still be  
 “ there, Gentlemen, your credit unhurt,  
 “ and the public body remaining whole.

“ Let us look to happier omens ; let us  
 “ decree the Minister’s proposals, and trust  
 “ that his genius, aided by the natural re-  
 “ sources of the finest Kingdom on the earth,  
 “ and the fervent zeal of an Assembly  
 “ which has given, and still gives, such  
 “ glorious examples, will be able to rise to  
 “ the level of our necessities and of our cir-  
 “ cumstances.”

So much confidence and so much praise  
 lavished on Mr. *Necker* by the most open  
 enemy he had in the Assembly, appeared  
 suspicious to his friends. *Mirabeau*’s eager-  
 ness for the Minister’s plan being adopted,  
 made them fear that he was certain it would  
 fail,



fail, or that it was his design to counteract it. Some of them in the course of the debate so plainly threw out this suspicion, as to authorise *Mirabeau* to explain himself; which he did with the most artful appearance of frankness. “ I have not the honour (said he) of being among the friends of the Minister at the head of the Finances; but were I his most affectionate friend, I would not hesitate a moment, as the friend of my Country, above all, as a Representative of the Nation, to expose him rather than the National Assembly to any hazard. Such are my real sentiments; I never meant to deny or to disguise them; and I think, that although we authorise a measure completely necessary, for which we have at present nothing to substitute, we ought not to take it upon ourselves, or to make it our own work, not having time to consider it.

“ Did our respect for public faith, our horror at *the infamous word bankruptcy*, rest on less solemn declarations, I might take upon me to investigate the secret motives, perhaps, alas! unknown to ourselves, which make us so imprudently stand aloof at the moment when we are  
“ about

“ about to proclaim an act of great sacrifice,  
 “ certainly ineffectual if it be not done im-  
 “ mediately and with full confidence. To  
 “ those who familiarize themselves to the  
 “ notion of violating public engagements,  
 “ through the fear of sacrificing too much,  
 “ through the dread of taxation, I would  
 “ speak thus:—And what is bankruptcy  
 “ but the most cruel, the most iniquitous,  
 “ the most unequal, the most disastrous of  
 “ taxes? My friends, hear but a word, a  
 “ single word. Two ages of depredations  
 “ and robberies have opened the gulph that  
 “ is ready to swallow up the Kingdom.  
 “ This horrible gulph must be filled. Well,  
 “ and here is a list of Frenchmen of pro-  
 “ perty. Choose among the richest, that  
 “ the fewer Citizens may be sacrificed; but  
 “ choose, for ought not the smaller number  
 “ to perish in order to save the mass of the  
 “ people? Come, these two thousand *No-*  
 “ *tables* possess what will supply the *deficit*,  
 “ restore order to your finances, peace and  
 “ prosperity to the Kingdom; strike, im-  
 “ molate without pity these wretched vic-  
 “ tims, precipitate them into the abyss, and  
 “ it will close.—Do you start back with  
 “ horror?

“ horror?—Inconsistent, pusillanimous men!  
“ What! do you not see then that by de-  
“ creeing bankruptcy, or, what is still more  
“ hateful, by rendering it inevitable without  
“ decreeing it, you disgrace yourselves by  
“ an act a thousand times more criminal;  
“ and, what is inconceivable! criminal for  
“ no purpose; for, in short, the horrible  
“ sacrifice which is first proposed would put  
“ an end to the deficit before to-morrow.  
“ —Ye Stoical contemplators of the incal-  
“ culable evils which bankruptcy would  
“ pour forth upon France! insensible, self-  
“ ish men! who imagine that those convul-  
“ sions of despair and misery will pass  
“ away like so many others, and the more  
“ rapidly for being the more violent, are ye  
“ very sure that such a number of men  
“ wanting bread will quietly suffer you to  
“ relish meals, of which you could not  
“ consent to decrease either the frequency  
“ or the luxury?—No.—Perish ye will, and  
“ in the general conflagration which ye do  
“ not shudder at kindling; nor will the  
“ loss of your honour save a single one of  
“ your detestable enjoyments!

“ This

“ This is the road on which we are travelling. I hear of patriotism, the raptures of patriotism, the invocations of patriotism: prithee do not prostitute the words patriotism and country. Is it a very generous effort, then, to give a part of your income in order to save all you possess? Why, Gentlemen, it is nothing more than common arithmetic; and he who can hesitate, could only disarm indignation by the contempt which his stupidity must excite. Yes, Gentlemen, it is the most ordinary prudence, the most daily wisdom, the grossest self-interest, to which I urge you. Vote then this extraordinary subsidy, and may it prove sufficient! Vote it, because although you have doubts upon the means (vague and unintelligible doubts), you have none upon its necessity at least, or upon our ability of immediately supplying its place. Vote it, because public circumstances admit of no delay, and because we should be blamed for rejecting it. Take care not to ask for time, it is a thing misfortune never grants.—Gentlemen, you may recollect that a few weeks ago, on a ridiculous

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“ motion made at the *Palais-Royal*, a ludicrous infurrection, which was of no importance but in weak imaginations, or the wicked designs of some knaves, we were violently summoned in these words : *Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and yet you deliberate!*—and certainly we had about us neither *Catiline*, nor dangers, nor factions, nor Rome.—But now, Bankruptcy, hideous Bankruptcy is here, and threatens to consume you, your property, your honour—AND YET YOU DELIBERATE !”

It is impossible to say what an impression was made by this unpremeditated speech upon the Assembly. The extracts I have cited are enough to give an idea of the talents of *Mirabeau*. The following chapters will bring us acquainted in other points with this extraordinary man, who gave almost as much cause to regret his death, as he had given to curse his birth.

The decree which was the consequence of *Mirabeau's* speech deserves to be reported, and was this :

“ Considering

“ Considering the urgency of circumstances, and having heard the Report of the Committee of Finances, the National Assembly accept, *through confidence*, the plan of the Prime Minister of the Finances.”

## CHAPTER XV.

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*Plan and Motives of the Factious for removing the National Assembly to Paris—Means concerted by the Royal Party to overturn the Project—Feeble Measures taken by the Court—Arts employed to agitate the Parisians—French Guards—Conduēt of M. de la Fayette, the Count d'Estaing, and the Municipality of Versailles—The Municipality petition the King for Troops—Manœuvres of the Orleans Faction—Arrival of the Regiment of Flanders—Alarm of the Parisians—Entertainment given by the Gardes-du-Corps denounced to the Assembly—Mirabeau's Audacity—The King's Reply relative to the Constitutional Articles*

*cles presented for his Assent—Discontent of the Assembly—They demand the pure and unconditional passing of those Articles,*

THE progress of the Revolution was not yet sufficiently rapid to please the Factious. The Parisian mob, who were their necessary instrument, could not, without great difficulty and at enormous expence, be sent to Versailles to terrify the Court, or the Assembly, when needful, so that this most efficacious means could but very rarely be employed; whereas they would have it completely at their command, if the Assembly were removed to Paris; consequently its removal became their grand project. As soon as it was formed, several members of the Assembly devoted to the King were made acquainted with it by confidential correspondents in Paris, from whom they learned, on the 14th of September, that the 5th of October was the day fixed upon for carrying the plot into execution. After comparing the several notes they had received, they agreed to meet, in order to decide upon the Resolution to be taken, and a conference was held on the 15th of September, at



*M. Malouet's*, from whom I received the following particulars :

“ We had taken measures,” said he,  
“ to ascertain the opinion of the majority.  
“ Fifteen of us consulted with three hundred and forty members of the *Tiers-Etat*, in different meetings, where we  
“ mentioned the reports we had received  
“ from Paris, and made such propositions  
“ as we judged suitable to the occasion.—  
“ We thought the most urgent measure was  
“ to prevent the attack of the 5th of October, by engaging the King to remove  
“ the Assembly to Tours, and we were assured of the concurrence of more than  
“ three hundred Deputies of the *Tiers-Etat*. The Bishop of *Langres*, *M. de Lally*, and *M. de Virieux*, who were  
“ members of our Committees, were very  
“ certain that the majority of the Clergy  
“ and of the Nobility, would follow that  
“ of the *Tiers-Etat*. It was therefore resolved to make the proposal to the King.  
“ The Bishop of *Langres*, *M. N——*, and  
“ myself, were commissioned to do it. We  
“ went to *M. de Montmorin's* on the same  
“ day, at nine in the evening ; for it appeared to us of no use, and even dangerous,

I

gerous, to go directly to the King, as such a step would have made too much noise; but we requested *M. de Montmorin* and *Mr. Necker*, who in this instance concurred, to lay directly before his Majesty the object and motives of our waiting upon them. The Council were called together, and a long debate took place respecting the removal of the Assembly. We were informed by the two Ministers that the King had opposed it, but that measures were to be taken for the security of his Majesty and of the Assembly."

While the Court was taking those measures, the insufficiency of which has been but too well proved by the event, the agitation of the Parisians was daily making the most alarming progress. The Agents of the *Orleans* Faction had persuaded them that a plan was formed to carry off the King, with or without his consent, to some fortified place, whither the Ministers were to repair, the Supreme Courts to be removed, and a numerous army to be assembled for the purpose of attacking the Representatives of the Nation and the Patriots. It was said that a secret subscription was opened to pay for

the assassination of all the good citizens, and that Priests and Nobles went in crowds to subscribe at this Proscription office. Foreign Ambassadors, former Ministers, and distinguished military men, were reported to be at the head of this pretended plan. The want of corn and of money, it was said, was entirely owing to their being engrossed to provide subsistence and pay for that army. It was even publicly asserted, that the King and Queen had only sent their plate to the Mint, in order from the produce of it to pay the secret expences of this project. Thus did hired impostors misconstrue and misrepresent, with the grossest calumnies, all their Majesties' sacrifices and acts of benevolence; and the People, whom the dread of civil war, joined to the fear of wanting bread and money, rendered still more credulous, believed all those absurdities.

The French Guards, who had by this time spent the shameful produce of their treason and of their plunder, in public-houses and in riots of the most disgusting debauch, looked upon this critical juncture as a favourable opportunity for signalising themselves by new crimes, and obtaining fresh recompenses. The grenadiers loudly pro-

proclaimed their intention of resuming their duty about the King, in company with the Parisian National Guard, with whom they were incorporated under the name of *Paid Guards*. They were encouraged in this project by those who believed, or pretended to believe, the probability of the King's going off, and all the ridiculous plots that were to be the consequence.

*M. de la Fayette* being informed, on the 16th of September, of the project of the grenadiers of the French Guards, succeeded in suspending the execution of it, and sent an account of it the next morning to the Minister, (*M. de St. Priest*) in the following letter :

“ The Duke *de la Rochefoucault* will  
 “ have mentioned to you the idea that has  
 “ been put into the head of the grenadiers of  
 “ going to-night to Versailles. I sent you  
 “ word not to be uneasy, as I depended up-  
 “ on their confidence in me to put an end to  
 “ the project, and I must do them the jus-  
 “ tice to say, that they meant to have asked  
 “ my permission : several of them thought  
 “ the request nothing out of the ordi-  
 “ nary way, and such as I should give orders  
 “ for. They entirely gave up their intention,  
 “ on

“ on my speaking a few words to them, and  
“ nothing of it remains in my mind but the  
“ idea of the inexhaustible resources of the  
“ caballers. You must consider this cir-  
“ cumstance only as a new indication of  
“ evil designs, and not by any means as any  
“ danger in itself. Send my letter to *M. de*  
“ *Montmorin*.”

This letter was communicated to Count *d'Estaing*, who commanded the National Guard of Versailles; on which he immediately assembled his Staff Officers, read it to them, and convinced them of the necessity of obtaining a re-inforcement of a thousand troops of the line, that the National Guard of Versailles might be able to answer as they ought for the safety of the Royal Family, and of the Representatives of the Nation. They resolved in consequence, according to the opinion of *M. d'Estaing*, that the Municipality should be required to petition the King for that re-inforcement.

Count *d'Estaing* went himself, accompanied by six Officers, to make the demand of the Municipality; who consented to it, upon condition that *M. de la Fayette's* letter should remain annexed to their registers; but upon the representation which was made

to

to them of the danger that might arise from this to *M. de la Fayette* himself, by the letter's being made public, it was agreed that they should be satisfied with an ostensible letter from the Minister, containing the facts mentioned in that of *M. de la Fayette*. It was immediately sent by *M. de St. Priest* while they were assembled; and on that letter it was resolved that the Municipality should petition the King for a regiment of infantry, to be under the command of the Commander of the National Guard of Versailles, for which the posts of honour about the Royal Family should be reserved.

This Resolution and the demand of the Staff Officers being sent to the President of the National Assembly, it was read in the Sitting of the 21st of September. The measure, weak as it was, could only clog the execution of the horrid conspiracy which the *Orleans* Faction were plotting, and which was to break out a fortnight afterwards. It was consistent therefore in *Mirabeau* to set his face against the conduct of the Staff Officers and of the Municipality of Versailles. He maintained, " That  
" when pressing circumstances required ex-  
" traordinary precautions, it was the duty  
" of

“ of the Executive power to demand troops,  
“ and to communicate the motives for the  
“ demand to the Legislative power; but  
“ that no Municipality whatever, upon mo-  
“ tives not communicated, had any right  
“ to call for a body of regular troops to  
“ the place in which the Legislative power  
“ was residing; and that the Assembly had  
“ not given up the privilege of inquiring  
“ into the causes which, in the town where  
“ they assembled, had urged the Municipa-  
“ lity to apply for troops.” He was answer-  
ed, that a formal Decree had authorised the  
Municipalities to call for troops when they  
judged it to be necessary, and that that power  
had not been taken from the Municipality of  
Versailles. This unanswerable observation  
did not prevent him from rising again to re-  
peat his efforts in other terms; but the Assem-  
bly notwithstanding, resolved, that there was  
no room to deliberate, and all he could obtain  
was, that the words “ *as to the present*”  
should be added to the Decree.

The motives which had determined the  
King to grant the Municipality of Versailles  
the regiment of infantry they had asked for,  
were officially notified to the Assembly by  
a letter from the Minister of War, written  
by

by command of his Majesty to the President, to inform him, that upon various threats from evil-minded persons, of coming from Paris with arms, he had taken measures to secure the residence of the National Assembly.

The arrival of the regiment of Flanders at Versailles alarmed the populace of Paris almost as much as if it had been an army of a hundred thousand men. What had the Capital to fear with a bourgeois militia of twenty times the number of all the troops then at Versailles? Was it probable that the King, who had shown no hostile design against it when he had an army of 30,000 men at his command, and before the embodying of the bourgeois militia, should have conceived the senseless project of attacking Paris with a regiment of two battalions? Nevertheless, the alarms excited on this occasion by the usual incendiaries among the People, were so great, that *M. Bailly* wrote to the Minister of War, to express the ardent wishes of the Capital for removing the regiment of Flanders, and to conjure him to give the necessary orders for that purpose. This letter was laid before the National Assembly in the Sitting of the



23d of September, but they paid no attention to it.

These absurd alarms would have remained an inexplicable enigma, had they not been excited by the same persons who were afterwards seen taking the lead in the insurrection of the 5th of October. The apprehensions of those villains at the arrival of the regiment of Flanders, could only have been raised from their not having been certain at the time, of being able to carry the National Guard to Versailles with the wretched mob which they proposed to lead thither, and which a regiment would have easily dispersed.

The regiment of Flanders entered Versailles on the 23d of September, and marched to the *Place d'Armes*, where the men took the oath, administered by the Municipality in presence of the Officers of the National Guard of Versailles, and began to do duty with them. As soon as this was known at Paris, it was resolved to employ every possible means to corrupt the soldiers. A legion of common women, picked from among those who were the best grounded in the patriotic jargon, was sent to them, and unknown emissaries

emissaries daily and secretly distributed abundance of money among them. They were soon prevailed upon to exchange the white cockade for the tri-coloured one.

The *Gardes-du-Corps*, who were witnesses to these manœuvres and to their success, became apprehensive that the King would not long continue in safety. The means which appeared to them the most proper to anticipate this danger, was to endeavour to attach the regiment of Flanders and the National Guard of Versailles more particularly to the defence of his Majesty's person. It was with this view that they gave an entertainment to the Officers of the regiment of Flanders, and to which they invited several Officers of the National Guard, of the Rangers of the *Trois Evêchés*, and of the *Prévôté de l'Hôtel*. The King allowed this entertainment, so innocent and so misrepresented, to be given at the Theatre in the Palace. The day fixed for it was Thursday the 1st of October, and the Hercules Saloon was the place of meeting. The guests being assembled at the appointed hour, to the number of about 240, went to the Theatre, where the dinner was served. The lights of the house, the crowd  
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of spectators who filled the boxes, and the music of the band belonging to the *Gardes-du-Corps* joining with that of the regiment of Flanders, gave this repast the brilliancy and gaiety of a festival. In the second course, the company drank to the health of the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Royal Family. I have been assured by two persons who were present at this entertainment, that the words *to the health of the Nation* were also pronounced feebly by one of the guests or one of the spectators, and that the not repeating or seconding this toast was attended with no consequences. The custom of drinking to the health of the Nation had not been then established, and one may be allowed, without a crime, to think that that was not the moment for introducing such an innovation ; yet one of the greatest crimes imputed to the *Gardes-du-Corps* was their not being willing to drink to the health of the Nation, that is to say, to their own health, for they were indisputably a part of the Nation.

Towards the end of the repast, the King, accompanied by the Queen and the Dauphin, made his appearance. A moment before, a considerable number of soldiers had been admitted,

admitted, who joined their shouts of joy and clapping with those of the guests, in acknowledgment to their Majesties for the happiness they added to the feast by their presence. The Queen took the Dauphin in her arms, and walked round the table with him, amidst the liveliest acclamations. The *Gardes-du-Corps*, the Officers and the soldiers, with their swords drawn, then drank to the health of the King, Queen, and Dauphin. Their Majesties were gratified with this respect, and retired. At that moment, the musicians, willing to testify, in their manner, that they shared the sentiments which animated the company, played suitable airs, and among others—" *O Richard! O mon Roi! L'Univers t'abandonne, &c.*"

It is easy to imagine what effect this music would produce upon some young people, whose heads were already heated by the fumes of wine. They soon began to act what the musicians played; they grew animated at the lively airs, and softened at the tender ones. When the charge was sounded, they were seen scaling the boxes, while the spectators made the house ring with clapping.—In these joyous transports, heightened by a

degree of intoxication, there escaped some buffoonery upon the *tri-coloured* cockade, and some indiscreet words respecting the white one. It is even said, that cockades of white paper were ludicrously tied to two or three hats. After the feast, this noisy merriment, especially the shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive la Reine!*" was continued for some minutes, upon the terrace of the Palace, and in the Marble Court. An Aide-de-Camp of Count *d'Estaing's*, and a grenadier, climbed up the balcony of the King's apartments: a dragoon, who had drunk too much wine to be able to follow them, thinking it a disgrace, was going to kill himself, and it was with difficulty he was brought to reason.

At the same time, in the passage leading from the terrace to the great stair-case of the Palace, a scene was passing of a much more serious nature. A Ranger of the regiment of the *Trois Evêchés* stood there, resting his head on the handle of his naked sword, and appeared oppressed with the most violent affliction. *M. de Miomandre*, an Officer of the regiment of Turenne, happening to pass near him, he seized him by the arm, and cried, in a tone of the deepest despair—

despair—" Ah! Sir, how wretched am I! would I were dead!" His convulsive sobs, accompanied with tears, prevented his uttering more than half sentences. Looking about him with a wild air, and seeing only the Officer by, he addressed the following unconnected words to him:—" *Our good King!—These excellent Gardes-du-Corps!—Ah, Sir! Sir!—I am a great scoundrel!—Monsters! What do they want me to do?*" " Who do you mean?" said *M. de Miomandre*—" *Those rascally Commanders and Orleans.*" Several people now came round him, when in a fit of fury he turned the point of his sword to his heart. *M. Duverger*, who happened to be near, on being called by *M. de Miomandre*, ran up and disarmed the Ranger, but not before he had wounded himself. He was carried to the guard-house, drenched in his blood, and laid upon a bundle of straw; where he remained in a perfect state of stupor and depression, till some of his companions, informed of what had happened, hastened to the guard-house; where falling upon this miserable creature, they completely kicked him to death, nor did the standers-by interpose to prevent it, or even seem hurt at it.

It has been said that this man was drunk, and indeed nothing is more probable; but it was never said that his companions, who assassinated him, were in liquor. What then could be their motives for treating with such shocking inhumanity a drunken man, who had done them no harm; as the broken sentences which escaped him applied only to the *Commanders and the Duke of Orleans*? Was it for the safety of those great criminals that they committed this murder, or to prevent more positive discoveries? One or the other it certainly was, but it might be either; and there, in my opinion, lies the only difficulty attending this enigma, which, at the time, the Ministers did not choose or did not dare to investigate.

In the evening of the same day, some white cockades were noticed in the King's anti-chamber, commonly called the *Oeil-de-beuf*. It was even told, that some ladies of the Court had taken the white ribbons from their head-dresses, to put them into the hats of some of the Officers of the National Guards, who had asked for them; and this innocent favour was converted into a National crime.

Such is the exact account of what passed  
at

at the famous entertainment given by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, which *Adrian Duport* had the assurance to be the first to denounce to the Assembly, under the description of *the scandalous feast of the Palace*, and as *one of those raving orgies, at which prudence is terrified, and indigence murmurs*. *Petion* improved upon this denunciation, and added, that imprecations had been uttered at this feast against the National Assembly. One of the members of the Nobility, shocked at this imposture, moved, that *Petion's* denunciation should be signed by him, and laid upon the table. *Mirabeau*, who saw the embarrassment into which this demand had thrown *Petion*, and fearing, no doubt, lest he should explain away a denunciation which it was material to him should be supported, rose to assist him with unparalleled audacity and effrontery.

“ I premise,” said he, “ that I consider  
 “ the motion for this denunciation as su-  
 “ premely impolitic: however, if it be  
 “ persisted in, I am myself ready to state all  
 “ the particulars, and to sign them; but I  
 “ shall move, that this Assembly previously  
 “ declare, that the person of the King alone



“ is inviolable, and that all other persons in  
“ the State, be they whom they may, are  
“ equally subject and amenable to the  
“ law \*.”

This unexpected proposition shocked the *côté droit*, while it emboldened the *côté gauche*, and gave rise to some sharp language, which the President put an end to, by calling for the order of the day, which was the consideration of the King's Answer respecting the Rights of Man, and other articles of the Constitution, that had been decreed, and for which his sanction had been demanded. History will preserve this Answer as an authentic monument of the wisdom of *Louis XVI*, and of the extreme goodness of his heart.

“ As to the Declaration of Rights, and  
“ the Articles of the Constitution decreed,  
“ my intentions are as follows :  
“ New Constitutive Laws cannot be well  
“ considered but by taking them together ;

\* *Mirabeau* said, loud enough to be heard by those near him, *I shall denounce the Queen and the Duke de Guiche*. See the deposition of *M. Digeon*, 168, a witness in the proceedings at the *Châtelet*.

“ all hang one upon another, in so great  
 “ and important a work. Nevertheless, I  
 “ think it very natural, that at a moment  
 “ when we are inviting the Nation to make  
 “ every effort of patriotism, we should sa-  
 “ tisfy them on the chief object of their  
 “ concern. Therefore, in the hope that  
 “ the first Constitutional Articles which you  
 “ have presented to me, in consequence of  
 “ your labours, will fulfil the wishes of  
 “ my People, and secure the tranquillity of  
 “ the Kingdom, I grant, according to your  
 “ desire, my assent to those Articles—but  
 “ upon the express conditions, from which  
 “ I will never swerve, that from the gene-  
 “ ral result of your deliberations, the Exe-  
 “ cutive power preserve its full effect in the  
 “ hands of the Monarch.

“ A series of facts and observations,  
 “ which will be laid before you from me,  
 “ will convince you, that in the present state  
 “ of things, I cannot enforce the collection  
 “ of the taxes, nor the circulation of corn,  
 “ nor protect personal liberty. I am, howe-  
 “ ver, anxious to fulfil these essential duties  
 “ of Royalty ; the happiness of my subjects  
 “ and the maintenance of social order de-

“ pend upon it. I desire then that we  
“ may unite in removing all the different  
“ obstacles which might oppose so desirable  
“ and so necessary a power.

“ You are doubtless sensible that the old  
“ institutions and the judicial forms cannot  
“ be changed till a new order of things be  
“ substituted; on this point, therefore, I  
“ need make no observations to you.

“ It only remains for me to declare to you  
“ frankly, that, although I give my assent  
“ to the different Articles you have presented  
“ to me, I am not struck with the idea of  
“ perfection equally in them all.

“ But I think it incumbent on me not to  
“ defer paying attention to the present wish  
“ of the Representatives of the Nation, and  
“ to the alarming circumstances which call  
“ upon us to strive above every thing to re-  
“ establish peace and order.

“ I make no comments on the Declaration  
“ of the Rights of Man; it contains very  
“ good maxims for the direction of your  
“ labours. But there are in it principles li-  
“ able to different applications, and even to  
“ different interpretations, which cannot be  
“ rightly understood till their real sense be  
“ settled

“ settled by the laws to which the Declaration is to serve as a basis.

“ (Signed) LOUIS.”

This Answer was applauded as it deserved, by many members of the superior Clergy and of the Nobility ; but it displeased the majority of the Assembly, who were misled by the violent declamations of *Robespierre*, *Adrian Duport*, *Petion*, *Mirabeau*, and the other orators of their class. Not satisfied with disfiguring all his Majesty's expressions by false and perfidious interpretations, they introduced into this debate unfounded allegations of imaginary grievances, which were totally foreign to it, and which seemed to have no other object than that of pointing out to the people new pretences for insurrection ; such as the entertainment given by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and a fictitious letter, directed to a miller, containing 200 livres, with a promise of as much more next week, if he would not grind corn. In fact, it will be seen in the following chapter, that these were the only reasons given to the Assembly by the leaders of the first detachment of the Parisian Populace, who arrived that very day at Versailles, and whose harangue

harangue one might have thought, and perhaps without being mistaken, had been preconcerted with the speakers last-mentioned. Be that as it may, the debate upon the King's Answer produced the following Decree:

“ The National Assembly ordain that the  
“ President, at the head of a Deputation,  
“ do this day wait upon the King, in order  
“ to beseech him to give his assent pure and  
“ unconditional to the Articles of the De-  
“ claration of Rights, and to those of the  
“ Constitution, which have been presented  
“ to him.”

In this then, as I have observed, consisted the grand Royal Prerogative of the *Suspensive Veto*. It authorised the King to grant, but not to refuse, his sanction or assent.

## CHAPTER XVI.

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*Secret Negotiation between the King and M. de la Fayette—The Orleans Faction are informed of it—Means employed by them to prevent the Consequences of it—Popular Commotions—Black Cockades torn from the Hats of those who wore them—Insurrection of Women in the Fauxbourgs—They flock in Crowds to the Place-de-Grève, and propose to hang a Baker—They force the Guard, and make their way into the Hotel-de-Ville—Are disposed to go and force the Arsenal to get at Arms—They set out in Crowds for Versailles, accompanied by some Brigands—The Alarm-bell rung, the Drums beat to arms, all the Districts assemble, the Men who had composed the French Guards*

*Guards march in Battle-array to the Place-de-Grève—Numerous Detachments from the different Battalions of the National Guard join them there—All cry out to be led to Versailles—M. de la Fayette for some Moments opposes it, but at last applies to the Municipality for the Order, which they give him—The National Guard set out for Versailles—Outrages of the 5th of October.*

A FEW days after Mr. Necker's retreat, the King seeing that a Revolution of some kind was inevitable, and that *M. de la Fayette* was the man, who from his situation, his principles, and the effect of circumstances, must naturally be the leader of it, condescended to enter into a negotiation with him. His Majesty flattered himself that he should be able to moderate the intemperance of his American notions, and to make him adopt a plan of Revolution, the effects of which might be reduced to all the improvements and necessary reforms that could be made without a convulsion. There was no sacrifice which *Louis XVI.* was not disposed to make, to preserve France from the horrors of a civil war. The active and  
daily

daily correspondence which he maintained on this subject with *M. de la Fayette*, and of which *M. de Montmorin* was the intermediate agent, had continued six weeks when the secret got wind. The object of this negotiation was too adverse to the criminal views of the *Orleans* Faction not to rouse them to the immediate employment of the most powerful means to overturn it, and they neglected none. From the moment it was known, the murmurs upon scarcity, and the bad quality of the bread, became daily more violent, the manœuvres of the factious more active, and the motions of the *Palais-Royal* more threatening: the women of the lowest class and the workmen of the *Faux-bourgs* assembled, and talked of going to *Versailles* to insist upon having bread; in a word, the Capital was in a most dreadful state of fermentation.

On Sunday the 4th of October, there was great agitation and disorder at the flour-market. On the same day, some persons who appeared in the *Champs Elisées* and at the *Palais-Royal* with black cockades in their hats, were grossly insulted by the National Guards and the People: their cockades were torn out and trodden under foot, and it was



was not without great difficulty that they saved their lives. The Commune on this occasion issued an ordinance forbidding all persons to wear any other cockade than a tri-coloured one.

The next morning by day-break the insurrection began to show itself. A young woman setting out from the neighbourhood of *St. Eustache* went into a guard-room, whence she took a drum, which she beat round the streets, crying at the same time, that there was no bread at the bakers' shops. Many women collected about her, and followed her to the *Hotel-de-Ville*. From the gate *St. Antoine* other mobs of women still more numerous spread themselves through the town, forcing all those they met to go along with them: they hurried to the *Place-de-Grève*, crying out *Bread! Bread!* and desired to speak with the Representatives of the Commune. It was then seven o'clock in the morning. At the *Hotel-de-Ville* there were only the Commissioners on duty, who had been there all night, and a small detachment of the National Guard. But the *Place-de-Grève* was now nearly filled with an immense and furious populace, bawling to have a Baker given up to them, a man who

who had been arrested and carried before the Committee of Police, on suspicion of selling bread under weight. Already was the fatal lantern prepared with a rope, and the Baker would have been suspended to it, had the Major-General of the National Guard been less dexterous than he was in taking advantage of a moment of confusion and tumult to save this wretched man from death; at the same time he sent an order to all the Districts, to cause the most numerous detachments that could be assembled to march immediately to the *Place-de-Grève*.

Before this assistance arrived, the mobs of women attacked the Horse-Guards who were posted before the railing of the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and put them to flight. The Foot-Guards forming themselves into a square upon the steps, kept the women for a moment in awe by presenting their bayonets: but a shower of stones very soon dispersed this company, and the Furies made their way into the *Hotel-de-Ville*. They ran through all the apartments calling with dreadful imprecations for bread and for arms. They fell upon all the papers they found, and would have set them on fire, *Because* (said they) *they were the work of*  
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*the Representatives of the Commune, all bad citizens who deserved the lantern, Bailly and La Fayette at the head of them.* Others went to the Armory. Men provided with axes, crows, and hammers joined them, broke open the doors, and seized all the muskets and two pieces of cannon. The *Hotel-de-Ville* would have been set on fire, had not *Stanislaus Maillard*, the man who had played a chief part in the attack of the Bastille, succeeded at the risk of his life in forcing from two of the women the burning links which they had brought to set fire to the papers and registers belonging to the Committees.

To Versailles! to Versailles! became the general cry of the populace, and particularly of the women. They said they would go and ask the King and the Assembly for bread. The intrepid *Maillard*, more turbulent than wicked, and constantly led by the desire of gaining note in the popular commotions by some distinguished part, went down to the door of the *Hotel-de-Ville* with a drum in his hand, assembled the women about him, harangued them, and succeeded so well in gaining their confidence, that they appointed him their Captain,

tain, upon condition that he led them to Versailles. He had previously proposed this measure to the Staff-Officers as the only one that could clear the *Place-de-Grève*, and facilitate the collecting a force necessary to restore order. *M. Dermigny*, the Adjutant-General, told him, that he could give him no such commission, but that he was at liberty to act as he pleased, provided he did not disturb the public peace. He now thought that he was sufficiently authorised to put himself at the head of this army of Amazons, or rather of *Megæras*, already intoxicated with brandy. They pitched upon the *Champs Elisées* for their headquarters, and the main body of the army repaired thither, while many detachments marched through the different quarters of the town raising recruits. They assembled to the number of about 6000, armed with clubs, pitchforks, pikes, muskets, and pistols, and they were almost all in rags ornamented with ribbons of different colours. At first they proposed to go to the Arsenal, to provide themselves with what ammunition and arms they wanted; but from this they were diverted by *Maillard*, who represented to them, that their plan being to

go to the Assembly to ask them for justice and for bread, they would be much more certain of obtaining both by going as suppliants, than by presenting themselves with arms in their hands. Struck with the force of this reasoning, they gave up the thought of going in quest of more arms, and even consented to leave those they already had in Paris. At length they set out, preceded by eight or ten drums, and followed by a company of the Bastille Volunteers, who were joined by some armed brigands, who never ceased exasperating this senseless mob against the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and against the Queen; pouring forth the most horrible execrations against her Majesty, and openly anticipating her assassination. The women continued stopping and pressing into their plan every body they met upon the road: they even forced many ladies frightened out of their senses to leave their carriages and walk with them to Versailles.

Meanwhile, the alarm-bell which had been ringing many hours, and the drums beating to arms, put the whole town in motion: the citizens repaired in crowds to the Assemblies of their Districts, the National Guards to their battalion, and the  
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companies of the Paid Guards\*, called also the Companies of the Centre (formerly the French Guards), marched in order of battle to the *Place-de-Grève*. They were soon followed by detachments from all the Districts, while an immense populace pressed about them and stunned them with their clamours. *Bread! Versailles! Orders! Leaders!* were the only words that could be distinguished amidst their shouts.

The Representatives of the Commune assembled were at a loss what to do, and every minute increased the embarrassment of their situation. *M. de la Fayette* was then at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, in the chamber where the Committee of Police were sitting, and was dictating letters for the Assembly and for the Ministers relative to the state of the Capital. A deputation from six companies of grenadiers went up to him, and their speaker addressed him thus: "General! we  
 " do not believe you to be a traitor, but we  
 " believe that the Government is betraying  
 " us—it is time for all this to have an end.  
 " We cannot turn our bayonets against  
 " women who are asking for bread. The  
 " Committee of Subsistence are guilty, or

\* La Garde Soldée.

“incapable of conducting their department ;  
“in either case they ought to be changed.  
“The people are wretched, and the source  
“of the evil is at Versailles. We ought to  
“go for the King and bring him to Paris ;  
“the Regiment of Flanders and the *Gardes-*  
“*du-Corps*, who have dared to tread the  
“National cockade under foot, ought to be  
“exterminated. If the King is too weak to  
“wear his crown, let him lay it down :  
“we will nominate his son, have a Re-  
“gency, and things will go better.”—  
“What ! (replied *M. de la Fayette*), do  
“you mean to make war upon the King,  
“and compel him to desert us ?”—“No,  
“General, we should be very sorry for it,  
“for we love him very much ; but he will  
“not quit us—though, if he did, we have  
“the Dauphin.” He harangued, exhorted,  
and conjured them in vain ; they constantly  
answered, that the source of the evil was at  
Versailles, that there they ought to go, and  
that all the people desired it. He went  
down to the Square, and tried with as little  
success to argue the Grenadiers into reason.  
He brought to their mind their oath to the  
Nation, to the Law, and to the King ; but  
his voice was lost amid the incessant shouts  
of, *To Versailles, to Versailles !*—*M. Bailly*,  
who

who had been sent for by the Representatives of the Commune to come and assist them with his counsel, arrived at this moment at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and was assailed by the same cries shouted at once by the National Guard and the People.

The longer the debate of the Representatives of the Commune continued, the fermentation and general impatience became the more dreadful: to shouts succeeded threats and furious imprecations which were bellowed out against the Municipality, and against *M. de la Fayette* himself; who recovered his popularity by showing himself on horseback at the head of his army, waiting the decision of the Assembly of the Representatives of the Commune, to whom he had sent several of his Aides-de-Camp, one after the other, to tell them that it was impossible for them to refuse any longer the demand of the People. The Assembly, convinced in fact that a longer resistance would be as dangerous as useless, resolved at length to send *M. de la Fayette* the following order:

“ On considering the circumstances and  
 “ the desire of the People, and upon the  
 “ representation of the Commander in Chief



“ that it was impossible to refuse it ; the  
“ Assembly not only authorise but order  
“ the Commander in Chief to proceed to  
“ Versailles.” At the same time they appointed from the Commune four Commissioners to accompany the army. The General, in consequence, gave the order for marching, and he was answered by the army and the people with the loudest shouts of joy.

The advanced guard consisted of three companies of grenadiers and one of the fusiliers. They carried with them three field pieces, and were preceded by seven or eight hundred men armed with guns and pikes. The main body marched in three columns, with artillery and baggage waggons. In the ranks there were none but National Guards ; but between the companies were a great number of ragged vagabonds, oddly armed, and almost all strangers, but naturalised by the Revolution, and promoted, as plunderers, to the dignity of patriot, and to all its prerogatives. This army was attended to the barrier by shouts of applause : the public joy seemed to be complete ; but no sooner were the tri-coloured standards out of sight, and the drums out of hearing, than disastrous

trous forebodings, gloomy anxieties, and a profound and general sadness seized upon the Parisians, and the most melancholy silence succeeded the clamorous transports of joy and fury. Mothers and wives dreaded, sometimes the dangers to which their children and their husbands might be exposed, and sometimes the crimes in which they might be made to participate. It was asked, with groans, what were they gone to Versailles to do? I was that day at Versailles, and what was done there I shall now relate\*.

The King had gone to Meudon to hunt. At half after one o'clock *M. de St. Priest* wrote a letter to *M. de Larboust*, one of the King's equerries, informing him that a great number of women, followed by a crowd of armed workmen, were on their way from Paris to Versailles, and that it was necessary the King should be apprised of it in time, to return before they arrived. The Mar-

\* I shall relate not only what I saw, but the principal facts that were judicially proved in the proceedings at the Châtelet, upon the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October 1789; they are lying before me, together with the complete investigation of them, made by *M. de Blaire*, in his excellent work, entitled "*The Crimes of the 6th of October.*"

quis *de Cubieres*, who was then at *M. de Larboust's*, immediately mounted his horse to carry *M. de St. Priest's* letter to the King; and he was scarcely arrived at Meudon when a Chevalier of *St. Louis\**, who had been on the Paris road, was presented to his Majesty, threw himself on his knees, and told him, that having on his way to Paris met a large body of people, armed with pikes, guns, and bludgeons, he had returned with the utmost speed to inform the King of it, adding, "I beseech your Majesty not to be afraid." "Afraid!" replied the King, "I never was afraid in my life." The Officer made an offer of his services, and swore that he was ready to defend him to the last drop of his blood. The King was much affected, and thanked him, then mounted his horse to return to Versailles. "I understand," said his Majesty to his attendants, "that there has been some tumult in the market, and that the Paris women are coming to ask me for bread. Alas! had I it in my power, I should not wait till they came to ask for it."

\* *M. de la Devèze*, a Nobleman of Dauphiné.

The news of the brigands being on their way spread alarm through Versailles. The drums beat to arms. The *Gardes-du-Corps* were ordered to mount their horses; those on duty repaired to the Palace, and four detachments were ordered to go by different roads to meet the King, who had very few guards with him, but they had hardly set out when his Majesty arrived. The Count of *Luxembourg* immediately asked him, if he had any orders to give for the guards.—“What! against women?” replied the King with a smile; “you are laughing at me.” The same question was put to him relative to the carriages: his Majesty answered, that he had no occasion for them. At that time it was supposed, that only the women led by *Maillard*, followed by some ill-armed men, were coming. *M. de la Fayette*, who was at first resolved not to leave Paris, thought he had sufficient influence to restrain the National Guard. He depended upon it so much, even after he had experienced his want of power over the Grenadiers, that he chose that moment for sending a Representative of the Commune to Versailles, with dispatches to the Assembly and to the Minister, to inform them of his

his hopes of a speedy re-establishment of tranquillity in the Capital\*.

I am willing to believe that *M. de la Fayette*, whose presumption had so often deceived him, was also deceived in this instance, and that he was sincere in the hopes he expressed to the Court. But could he be still mistaken, when, in a quarter of an hour afterwards, he found himself obliged to apply to the Assembly of the Representatives of the Commune, for the order to lead to Versailles an army in fury, of which he was far less the Commander than the docile instrument? Was he simple enough to flatter himself that he should be better obeyed at Versailles than at Paris? Was he so blinded as not to foresee the enormities, at the head of which he was about to be compelled to figure? "What would you have had him do?" said all his friends the next day. What would I have had him do? I will not answer, *that he*

\* See the *Moniteur*, No. 70, of the 9th and 10th of October, and many other papers. It was likewise said, in the following No. of the *Moniteur*, that those despatches, which were sent from Paris at half after two o'clock, did not arrive at Versailles till after eight at night.

*should*

*should have died*—his death would have been of no use ; but he might at least have laid down a command of which he was incapable ; he ought especially, and in the first place, to have informed the King of his situation, and to have prevented the fatal effects of the security into which he had lulled his Majesty by the dispatches he had sent by the Representative of the Commune. Among the numerous Aides-de-Camp around him, he might easily have found three or four sufficiently intelligent and zealous to have executed this commission perfectly well. Had the Court been informed, as soon as it might have been, of the march of so formidable an army, the King would not have been so imprudent as to have waited for it at Versailles ; he would have set out with his family for Compiègne. The very next day he might have adjourned the Assembly to Soissons or to Tours ; and that removal, the motives of which all France would have applauded, would have saved every thing. But as only women and some badly armed brigands were expected, it was thought enough to shut the iron gates of the Palace, and to draw up on the *Place d'Armes* the regiment of Flanders, the Rangers of the

*Trois*

*Trois Evêchés*, the *Gardes-du-Corps*, MONSIEUR's Guards, those of the Count *d'Artois*, and a squadron of horse. The barracks, formerly belonging to the French Guards, were occupied by some companies of the National Guards of Versailles.

The Count *d'Estaing* read a requisition of the Municipality to the troops, which enjoined them to assist, in conjunction with the National Guards of Versailles, to quell any disorder that might be committed by the multitude that was coming from Paris.

It was very natural that the members of the Committee of Montrouge should be sooner and better informed than any body of the commotions of the Capital, and their object, as it was commonly by their Agents that they were excited; but *Mirabeau's* conduct in the Assembly, four hours before the brigands arrived, was very remarkable. In the midst of the debate upon the King's Answer, and on the denunciation of the entertainment given by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, he went up to the President, and, speaking in a low voice, said to him, " Mr. President, forty thousand armed men are on their way from Paris: hurry the debate—break up the Sitting—pretend to be ill,  
or

“ or say that you are going to the King.”  
—“ I never hurry the debates,” replied *Mounier* coldly, “ I think they are but too  
“ often hurried through.”—“ But, Mr. Pre-  
“ sident, those forty thousand men !”—“ So  
“ much the better, they have but to kill us  
“ all—all, do you understand me? and the  
“ business of the State would go on the  
“ better for it.”—“ That’s prettily said,  
“ Mr. President.”

The King’s interest was certainly out of the question in this request of *Mirabeau’s*, whose shocking conduct that day and the next does not leave even a shadow of doubt respecting it. He had therefore another object in view, and it could only be that of frightening the King into the determination of leaving Versailles: there is no doubt that it was not that day a part of the project of the Conspirators to murder the Royal Family; but the King’s flight would have facilitated, and might even have been the grounds of the appointment of the Duke of *Orleans* to the office of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, which was ever the chief object of this Faction. *Mounier* knew this well, and the indifference of his reply disconcerted *Mirabeau*.

About



About three o'clock in the afternoon the phalanx of women began to make their appearance in the avenue. Their advanced guard stopped for some moments opposite to the building where the Assembly were sitting. *Maillard*, who was still at their head, took only fifteen of them with him into the Hall. The others all insisted upon going in with him, and it was with great difficulty he at length prevailed upon them to wait quietly till he returned. They went on to the *Place d'Armes*, where they were greatly astonished to find battalions of infantry and squadrons of horse presenting an impenetrable front.

*Maillard* presented himself at the Bar with his retinue, and set forth that for three days past there had absolutely been no bread in Paris. "We are come to Versailles (added he) to ask for some, and, at the same time, to have the *Gardes-du-Corps* punished for having insulted the patriotic cockade. The Aristocrats want to starve us. This very day a note of 200 livres was sent to a Miller, desiring him not to grind corn, and promising him a like sum every week."

He

He was called upon from every part of the Hall to name him. "I cannot (he replied) name either the denounced or the denouncers, because I know neither one nor the other; but three persons, whom we met this morning in a carriage belonging to Versailles, told me that a clergyman intended to denounce this crime to the National Assembly. I beseech you, in order to restore peace, to calm the general effervescence and prevent mischief, to send a deputation to the *Gardes-du-Corps* to persuade them to take the National cockade, and to make some reparation for the insult offered to it."

He then inveighed violently against the black cockades, took one out of his pocket which he pretended had been taken from an Aristocrat, tore it in a rage, and trampled it under his feet. The coarseness of some of his expressions drew from the President an injunction not to forget the respect he owed to the Assembly: "All who wish to be citizens (added the President) may be so of their own accord, but none have a right to force them."

*Maillard* replied, "There is nobody who would not be honoured by that title; and  
" if

“ if any Member of this august Diet could  
“ think himself dishonoured by it, he ought  
“ to be immediately expelled.” The Hall  
resounded with shouts of applause at this  
answer, and many voices repeated, *Yes, yes,  
all ought to be so, we are all citizens.*

Several Deputies called out that the reports spread respecting the *Gardes-du-Corps* were false, and at the same time a National cockade was given to *Maillard* on the part of the Guards; he showed it to the women about him as a token of the pacific disposition of that corps, and in an instant they all shouted *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Gardes-du-Corps!*

The speaker was then interrupted by the clamours of some other women who had forced their way into the Hall, and who, mounted upon benches, were crying out all at once for bread, the dismissal of the Regiment of Flanders, and the punishment of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and were uttering the most horrid imprecations against the Queen. Some were contemptuously familiar in their expressions, and insulted the Deputies, particularly those of the Order of the Clergy; desiring them to hold their tongues, or, in a style at once imperious and familiar, commanding

commanding them to speak :—*Come, Deputy, do you speak. Deputy, hold you your tongue.* During this scandalous scene, too disgusting to be more minutely detailed, the Assembly charged the President to go immediately to the Palace, at the head of a Deputation, and represent the calamitous situation of Paris to the King.

The moment that the President (*Mounier*) and the Deputation appeared out of the Hall, they were surrounded by a crowd of women, who declared in the most positive terms that they would go with them to the King; while a party of men armed with pikes, hatchets and clubs drew round the Deputation, to serve as an escort for them. *Mounier*, after much sollicitation, prevailed upon them to consent that only six women should go to the King with the Deputation; but when they arrived at the Palace it was impossible to restrain them to that number, and with great difficulty they were reduced to twelve.

At the *Place d'Armes* the women who remained there began to abuse the troops; but as these did not seem to pay the least attention to them, their threats were dropped. Soon, however, finding themselves supported

by all the populace of Versailles, they proceeded to violence against the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who, scattered through the town, and not receiving information all at the same time, were going one by one to join their corps. Those who went first met no obstacle, but they that went after the crowd of people armed with pikes had increased and become more audacious from the inaction of the troops, were insulted and attacked. A pike thrown by a young man at one of the Guards went between the legs of his horse, and made him fall. The mob instantly rushed upon him, and would infallibly have murdered him had he not been saved by an officer of the National Guards of Versailles, named *Defroches*. That brave man, exasperated at so unprovoked an attack, collared the aggressor with the intention of sending him to prison; but the people forced him out of his hands. This first success, and still more the certainty of the King's having forbidden the Guards to fire, and recommended the greatest mildness to them, infinitely increased the insolence of the brigands. Depending upon being able to do every thing with impunity, they now took it into their heads to force the ranks of the *Gardes-du-Corps*. They went  
up

up to their horses, and when by frightening them they had put the troop into disorder, they attempted to go in among them. The prudence of the Guards, and their continual attention to closing their ranks, frustrated all those attempts, till a man in the uniform of the National Guard of Paris perceiving a space between the horses at the head of the troop, pushed into the ranks with a sword in his hand, followed by eight or ten women. This frightened the horses so much that it was impossible to prevent the man from passing. Three Officers of the corps went after him, and, giving him a blow or two on his back with the flat part of their swords, left him: but scarcely had they faced about to return to their station, when they were fired at; one of them (*M. de Savonnières*) received a shot that broke his arm. At the same instant three pieces of cannon, loaded with canister-shot, were pointed against the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and the matches several times applied to the touch-holes--though without effect, owing to the rain: at this time some persons were heard to utter these remarkable words, *Stop; it is not yet time.*

*M. de Savonnières*, on returning into the ranks among his comrades, thought only of repressing their resentment. "You must not," said he to them, "think of me, but of the King and of the Royal Family; may they escape the danger that threatens them! Remember, my friends, that the slightest imprudence might endanger their lives." These words were enough to restrain them: those brave officers, though so greatly exasperated, did not hesitate a moment to make a sacrifice of their feelings to the King; but their heroic moderation did but increase the audacity and the number of the assassins.

The Regiment of Flanders was treated in a much more ignominious manner; a number of brazen women, among whom was seen the notorious *Theroigne de Mericourt*, forced their way into their ranks with money in their hands, which the officers could not prevent, and purchased at a very paltry price the shame and inaction of the soldiers.

While on the *Place d'Armes* the *Gardes-du-Corps* were bearing the hootings, abuses, and continual attacks of a mad mob, such of them as had been sent to the avenue to reconnoitre,

connoître, and those who were ordered to join the picket of Rangers stationed opposite the Hall of the National Assembly, were pursued and fired upon. The detachments which had been to meet the King were received on their return with a shower of stones and several musket-shot.

The women who had gone into the Palace with the Deputation from the Assembly, were extremely affected at the sensibility shown by the King on hearing the account of the pretended want of the Metropolis. One of them, whose name was *Louisa Chabry*, a young woman of seventeen years of age, who worked at a carver's, and who was commissioned to represent the grievances of the Parisians to his Majesty, could not support the emotion of tenderness or timidity she felt, and fainted. Every thing was done to recover her: as she was going away she wished to kiss the King's hand; but his Majesty, saying kindly to her *that she deserved better than that*, did her the honour to kiss her lips. They all retired well satisfied, crying in the court, *Vive le Roi! God bless the King and his family! To-morrow we shall have bread.*



The multitude crowded on the Square would not give credit to their report : scarcely had they got to the Minister's Court when they were saluted with shouts, or rather with howlings. " The jades have received " money," was the cry ; " if they do not " bring a writing from the King, they must " be hanged." Two of the women who accused them seized one of them, and put their garters round her neck to hang her at the first lamp. She cries to the *Gardes-du-Corps* for assistance ; the officer stationed at the iron-gate flies to her assistance, disengages her, and puts her back into the Royal Court with the other women who had accompanied the Deputation of the Assembly to the Palace. They beseech him to conduct them back to the King ; he yields to their solicitations ; and his Majesty also consents to give them an order, signed by himself, to cause corn to be sent from Senlis and from Lagni, and to remove all the obstacles in supplying Paris with provisions.

It would not be easy to describe the transports of joy shown by these women, carrying in triumph this writing of the King's, dancing, and showing it to the brigands, who

who already began to fill the Ministers' Court. The treatment they now received made them amends for the outrages they had experienced a few minutes before. In a short time there was nothing talked of in the Courts and *Place d'Armes*, but the paternal kindness of *Louis XVI.* Repeated acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* expressed the gratitude of this portion of *Maillard's* army, who had been led away by the brigands, and who thought they were only come to Versailles to ask for bread. Such was the sincerity of these women, that, after those who had seen the King had related the success of their embassy to their companions, they proposed to go and carry the news to Paris; and in spite of the opposition of several villains, who cried that there was an order for remaining, they went in search of their General *Maillard*, and about forty of them set off with him in the carriages which the King had ordered to be got ready for them.

Nor had their credulity been less abused respecting the *Gardes-du-Corps*. They were surprised on coming out of the *Oeil-de-Bœuf* to see that they had all white cockades, and asked them the reason of it. On being an-

swered, that they had never given up the white cockade, which was a part of their uniform, the women cried out, "How basely we have been deceived! We were told that you had only black ones; we looked as we came, and saw that you had all white cockades."

*M. de St. Priest*, seeing that the populace and National Guard of Versailles had joined the brigands of Paris, and that the protection of the Royal Family was reduced to a small number of *Gardes-du-Corps*, and to the Regiment of Flanders, which was already half corrupted, went to the King, painted with the utmost energy a situation so perilous, and proposed to him, as the only means of safety, to set out in an hour at farthest with his family for Rambouillet. At the same time he laid before his Majesty a detail of the orders to be given, and of the measures to be taken to secure the execution of this plan, and to prevent all the dangers of it.

The King's natural repugnance to all hasty resolutions making him hesitate to adopt that which *M. de St. Priest* proposed to him, that Minister, as zealous as faithful, threw himself at his Majesty's feet with his face

face to the ground, and said as he embraced them—"Sire, I am so fully convinced that  
 "all is lost if you reject the part I have just  
 "proposed to you, that I will not quit this  
 "spot unless your Majesty promises me to  
 "follow it."—"But rise then, *M. de St. Priest*," said the King to him, putting out his hand. "No, Sire," said he, "I will not  
 "rise till you give the promise I solicit."  
 —"Well! I do."—"I go this instant  
 "then," replied *M. de St. Priest* rising, "to give the necessary orders, and I  
 "shall hasten to wait for your Majesty at  
 "the end of the Park."

Soon after, the alarm of the Royal Family was allayed by the acclamations of *Vive le Roi!* which were heard in the Court when the women returned with the answer written by his Majesty, and by the hopes given by the dispatches that had been just received from *M. de la Fayette*, respecting the probable re-establishment of tranquillity in Paris. The carriages were countermanded, and the King sent word of it to *M. de St. Priest*, who was already set out. It was also hoped that calm might be restored at Versailles by withdrawing the troops, and the King gave orders for it. Count *d'Estaing*  
 carried

carried it himself to the National Guard of Versailles; and as it was the first time they had seen their Commander that day, they reproached him severely for having deserted his post at the most critical moment. Several companies immediately obeyed the General's order; but the greater number, seeing the *Gardes-du-Corps* remain on the *Place d'Armes*, declared they would not move till they had seen them file off. The brigands did not partake of this uneasiness. Satisfied with having seen the *Gardes-du-Corps* return their swords to their scabbards when they heard the cries of *Vive le Roi*, they were testifying their content by repeated huzzas, at the time that the order for retreat arrived.

The company of *Noailles*, which formed the rear-guard, had scarcely begun to march down the avenue of Sceaux, when the hootings and abuse recommenced, and were soon followed by a considerable discharge of musketry, which wounded several of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and killed one of their horses. It would have been easy for them to have taken signal vengeance for so atrocious an act of hostility; but, obedient to their orders, they contented themselves with closing their ranks,

ranks, and retreated in good order. It is almost necessary to have been a witness to these scenes of horror, to be able to believe that that base and unprovoked discharge was made by the National Guard of Versailles *only*. Yes, by those very men on whom, three days before, the *Gardes-du-Corps* had lavished, and from whom they had received, the most affectionate marks of friendship and good-will.

While the *Gardes-du-Corps* were thus fired upon, such of their comrades as were upon duty within the Palace, being informed of the hostile intentions of the National Guards of Versailles, but not imagining that they could go to such excess, resolved to send them a Deputation to assure them of their pacific inclinations, to offer them their friendship, and request theirs. The Count of *Luxembourg*, accompanied by several superior officers, brigadiers and guards, had actually set out to execute this commission, when Count *d'Estaing* being informed of it ran to meet them. "Whither are you going?" said he. "If you stir out you will be all murdered: it is impossible to make those furies listen to reason; your comrades

“ comrades have just been fired upon. I  
“ have myself been abused and threatened,  
“ and it is with much difficulty I have es-  
“ caped their fury.”

A captain of the National Guard who had served in the *Gardes-du-Corps*, soon after confirmed the sad account which *M. d’Estaing* had given them. “ I am just come from  
“ their barracks,” said he ; “ they are not  
“ men, but wild beasts ; their fury against  
“ you is at its height. For God’s sake do  
“ not go out ! The first of you that is so im-  
“ prudent will be massacred : all the decent  
“ men and almost all the officers have left  
“ them. When I attempted to say some-  
“ thing in your favour, they resolved to  
“ carry me to the lantern, and it was with  
“ great difficulty I saved myself.” Count  
*d’Albignac*, at the head of the regiment on  
the *Place d’Armes*, had some time before  
received the same intelligence from another  
officer of the National Guard.

In a few minutes after the *Gardes-du-Corps* had returned to their hotel, it was reported that a project was formed of going to besiege them there with cannon. As it was not tenable, the Duke *de Guiche* determined that the corps should mount their horses,

He

He might without danger have led them out of the town—but that would have been leaving the King; and the ambition of those faithful guards, and of their worthy commander\*, was to make a rampart of their bodies round the Royal Family. His Majesty had restrained their courage, but he had not forbidden them to surround him: the resolution therefore of returning to the Palace was adopted without hesitation; and that they might not give the National Guards of Versailles an opportunity or a pretence for committing new hostilities, they went round through the street *de l'Orangerie* and up that of *la Surintendance* to the Ministers' Court, where they drew up; but those who on leaving the *Place d'Armes* had gone to the *Hôtel de Charost* were dispersed in the town, or blockaded in their stables, and but very few of them could make their way to the Ministers' Court. In a position so disadvantageous for a squadron of horse, they

\* The conduct of the Duke *de Guiche* on the fatal days of the 5th and 6th of October merits the highest eulogiums: he was constantly with the *Gardes-du-Corps*, shared all their dangers, and shewed himself to be truly worthy of being their commander by his courage, and by his zeal for the King.

waited



waited a long while for orders, which they repeatedly requested, and which they at length received, to march to the terrace in front of the Queen's apartment. They filed off one by one under the Princes' arch, and drew up upon the terrace. It was full time for them to retreat; already were the cannon pointed against them, and the brigands, who were upon the *Place d'Armes* and in the barracks, might have fired upon them through the iron-railing, which was their intention. This was known at the Palace, as well as that the *Gardes-du-Corps* had been attacked, and every one trembled for the lives of the King and Queen. In this moment of trouble and alarm, some of their Majesties' most faithful servants hastened to the stables, where they found carriages ready, and horses that had not been unharnessed; they endeavoured to carry them out by the Orangery and Dragoon Gates; but it was no longer time to think of retreating; all the gates were guarded by the National Guards of Versailles, who were now become an auxiliary troop to the brigands. The carriages were stopped, and led back to the stables.

The Deputation of the Assembly who had  
gone

gone to the King accompanied by the twelve women, had executed only a part of their commission. They did not think it their duty to speak to his Majesty before them of Constitutional Articles and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the pure and unconditional acceptance of which the Assembly had charged them to demand. The President had only informed the King, that he had to request an hour to be appointed for speaking to him upon an important subject, and his Majesty had appointed nine o'clock in the evening. It was near ten when the King admitted them. Besieged in his palace, his ears assailed in his apartments by the imprecations and menaces of a mad mob; flattering himself perhaps to restore calm by yielding to the desire of the Assembly, he gave his assent to what was demanded, and charged the President to assemble all his colleagues, to inform them that his Majesty wished to consult them on the steps to be taken, on the uneasy situation in which he was, and that he invited them to come to the Palace.

At this moment a considerable group of the Parisian women and men, armed with pikes, arrived on the Esplanade, where the

mob were disputing about one of the *Gardes-du-Corps* (*M. de Mouchetôn*), whom they wanted to behead. Luckily for him, the officer upon guard proposed that he should be tried before he was executed, and immediately formed a kind of Court Martial, in which he took care to call in as judges those who appeared the most eager to play the part of executioners. He harangued them a long time, endeavouring to moderate their fury; but sentence of death was unanimously passed. The Court broke up, and the Judges hastened eagerly to seize upon their victim: but he had been got away during the Court Martial, and safely lodged in the Surgery of the French Guards. The rage of the brigands now turned against his deliverer: some thought he ought to undergo the punishment intended for the *Garde-du-Corps*; others endeavoured to exculpate him. While they were debating the point, he found means to escape, leaving behind the *Garde-du-Corps*' horse; and the furies glutted at once their vengeance and their hunger upon the unfortunate animal, which was half-roasted and devoured.

Before the Deputies, a great number of whom had left the Hall, could be collected, *M. de la Fayette* arrived at the head of his army.

army. He made them halt before the Hall of the Assembly, and administered to the National Guard the oath of being faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King. His apprehensions being entirely removed by the apparent cordiality with which this oath was taken, he entered the Assembly, where his arrival had been previously announced by one of his aides-de-camp. He found the Hall almost entirely occupied by the Paris mob, who were sitting with the Deputies, and who, pretending that they had not eaten any thing for four-and-twenty hours, had by their clamours forced the Assembly to distribute among them bread, wine, and sausages\*. *M. de la Fayette* went up to

\* At this Sitting a Deputation of Galley Slaves from Toulon, who owed their liberty to the Decrees that had been passed relative to the Salt Duty, and to the offences against the Game Laws, appeared at the Bar at eleven o'clock at night, to offer to the Representatives of the Nation their arms, and all in their power for the defence of the Constitution and of Liberty. The august Assembly accepted their offers, and decreed, that honourable mention should be made of them upon the Journals. It must be allowed, that at that time there were not more than twenty Deputies in the Hall, and that those were, no doubt, not the least worthy of receiving such a Deputation.

the President, and assured him he need have no apprehensions as to the consequences of that day; that he had several times sworn the soldiers to remain faithful to the King and to the National Assembly, to obey them, and neither to do nor suffer any violence.—“What then,” said the President to him, “is the object of such a visit, and what does your army want?”—“Whatever be its motive for coming,” replied the General, “having promised to obey the King and the National Assembly, it will impose no conditions: however, in order to assist in removing the discontent of the people, it would perhaps be advisable to send the Regiment of Flanders away, and that the King should say something in favour of the Patriotic cockade.” He then left the Assembly to go to the Palace, where he arrived at a quarter before eleven. After being near half-an-hour in the King’s Cabinet, he came out and said to those in the *Oeil-de Bœuf*:—“*I have persuaded him to make some sacrifices in order to save him.*” Then turning to the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and pressing several of them by the hand, he said to them—“Gentlemen! every  
“ thing

“ thing is settled; the King consents that  
“ those who were formerly the French  
“ Guards should resume their posts, and it  
“ is his Majesty’s intention that you should  
“ wear the National cockade to-morrow.”

Soon after *M. de la Fayette* had left the Palace, the Members of the Assembly whom his Majesty had invited appeared: but the arrival of the National Guard of Paris, the assurances given by their Commander-in-chief, and the arrangements agreed upon with him, had entirely changed the face of affairs. In short, the Assembly came much later than they ought to have done, and their dilatoriness in repairing to the King at so critical a moment, doubtless merited the severest reproaches; but his Majesty contented himself with making them feel it with the utmost mildness. “ I wished,” said the King to those Gentlemen, “ circumstanced  
“ as I am, to be surrounded by the Representatives of the Nation, and I sent you  
“ word that it was my desire to see the  
“ *Marquis de la Fayette* in your presence,  
“ that I might have availed myself of your  
“ counsels; but he came before you, and  
“ I have nothing more to say to you, except

“ that I have had no intention to go away,  
“ and that I shall never remove from the  
“ National Assembly.”

Scarcely were the Deputies retired, when the regiment formerly the French Guards marched with their drums beating to the Ministers' Court, where they drew up, and soon after took possession of the posts they had occupied previous to their defection. They required also that the gate of the Princes' Court, which as well as all the others of the Palace had been kept locked since the arrival of the brigands, should be opened as it was formerly, to make a free entrance into the garden. The Officer of the *Gardes-du-Corps* stationed at that gate (*M. de Luillier*) would not allow it to be opened before he received orders for so doing. He went up to the King's apartments, and gave an account of the circumstance to the Major of the *Gardes-du-Corps*; who having received the order from the Captain of the Quarter, permitted that gate to be opened, in spite of all that *M. de Luillier* could say to show the danger of it. The assurances given by *M. de la Fayette* had so lulled all apprehensions, that the most necessary precautions were unfortunately considered as needless.

The

The posts being all thus relieved, the Parisian Army, excessively fatigued, thought no longer but of finding places where they might go to rest. Several of the inhabitants and the National Guards of Versailles were eager to show their hospitality to their brethren in arms. Those who could find no lodgings at private houses, retired with their battalions to some of the churches and public buildings to pass the remainder of the night. One of their detachments took up its quarters in the Hotel of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, where there were not more than twenty of the latter remaining. The mob were scattered among the public-houses, and wherever else they could find shelter. The brigands as they retired continued vociferating their imprecations against the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and declaring beforehand that they would next day hang them all up to the lanterns. *M. de la Fayette* must certainly have been ignorant, or must have despised these threats ; for at that very time he was telling the King, “ that by assenting  
 “ to the Declaration of the Rights of Man  
 “ and the Constitutional Articles, and by  
 “ permitting the former French Guards to  
 “ return to their old posts, his Majesty had  
 H 3 “ allayed



“ allayed the fermentation ; that the People  
“ were tranquil, and that the army would  
“ march back next morning by break of  
“ day. *I beseech your Majesty* (added he)  
“ *to go to bed, and to repose fully on my*  
“ *care—I WILL BE ANSWERABLE FOR*  
“ *ALL.*”

Upon such positive assurances heard and attested by the Duke *de Guiche*, the latter at two o'clock in the morning went and joined the detachment which he had left upon the Terrace fronting the Orangery, and led them to Trianon. All persons who had come into the Royal apartments were sent out ; and their Majesties, full of confidence in the promises and activity of *M. de la Fayette*, went to bed without uneasiness, or at least without showing any, in a Palace surrounded with brigands and murderers, who, far from sleeping, were increasing their ferocity by wine. The Assembly, likewise convinced by *M. de la Fayette* that order and tranquillity would be maintained, broke up at his request ; and this General, upon whose care every body was to repose, took no other care than that of going to bed himself, and sleeping very soundly. History in recording this sleep, the consequences of which

were so disastrous, will never be able to explain the problem, but by accusing *M. de la Fayette* of the most horrible perfidy, or of the most stupid want of foresight. I do not hesitate to place it to the latter account, which I truly believe to be the real ground for censure. *M. de la Fayette*, misled by the Revolutionary mania, by extravagant and ill-digested ideas of liberty, had the misfortune to look too frequently with favourable eyes on the French Revolution, and to find a fair side for almost every atrocity; as through a prism we see the most hideous objects in beautiful colours. This defect of his mind, more perhaps than of his heart, was the principal cause of all the evil he has done, or suffered to be done.

Amid crimes, alarms, confusion, and general stupor, the Queen majestically displayed the sublimest and most heroic character: her constant serenity, her countenance firm and ever full of dignity, transfused her own courage into the soul of all who approached her. On that day she received a great deal of company. To some who expressed uneasiness, she replied: "I know they are come from Paris to demand my head; but I learned of my

“ mother not to fear death, and I will wait  
“ for it with firmness.” Her answer to  
the advice that was given to her, to fly from  
the dangers that threatened her, does not  
less deserve to be recorded.—“ No, no,”  
said she; “ never will I desert the King and  
“ my children, I will share whatever fate  
“ awaits them.” At one time a person  
whom nobody knew coming into the room  
where the Queen was, her Majesty broke  
off the conversation instantly, and changed  
it to another subject, and afterwards said in  
a low voice to a Deputy of the Nobility of  
Burgundy who was near her: “ I turned  
“ the conversation, because I saw a valet-  
“ de-chambre of the Duke of *Orleans*; I  
“ do not know how he got in here.”

Two hundred gentlemen, among whom  
were several Members of the Assembly, be-  
ing determined to try every thing to save  
the Royal Family, and not being able to  
flatter themselves that they could be of any  
assistance to them but by forming a body of  
horse, sent between eleven and twelve  
o'clock, by the means of *Madame Elizabeth*,  
to beg the Queen for an order for horses  
from her stables. Her Majesty with her  
own hand wrote the following order, and  
sent

sent it to the President *de Frondeville*:—

“ I order two hundred horses to be got  
“ ready for *M. de Luxembourg*, to be em-  
“ ployed as he shall think proper if the  
“ King’s life be in the least danger; but if  
“ I only am in danger, no use shall be  
“ made of the present order.”

During the ten dreadful hours through which this august Princess, this wonderful Heroine, had to support the most difficult and most fatiguing character, her courage and her presence of mind never forsook her for a moment. Some hours of sleep happily came to repair her exhausted strength, and to enable her to encounter on the next day, with equal magnanimity, dangers still more horrid.

## CHAPTER XVII.

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*The Outrages committed on the 6th of  
October.*

IN the course of the night preceding this execrable day, the *Place d'Armes*, and the avenue from Paris as far as the Hall where the Assembly were sitting, were lighted by great fires, around which vast numbers of women and brigands were seen eating and drinking. Others had taken shelter in the Guard-house upon the *Place d'Armes*; and the rest spent the night in the Hall of the Assembly, which was filled with them. The Deputies were mixed among them, and endeavoured to continue their debates. The Assembly attempted in this nocturnal and tumultuous

tumultuous sitting to enter upon the discussion of the criminal laws. Certainly a subject more adapted to circumstances could not have been chosen. Never had there been more urgent occasion for severe and effectual laws against robbery, assassination, and even regicide. But the speakers were every instant interrupted by the populace with the cries of, *Bread! bread! No long speeches! What have we to do with your criminal laws, when Paris is without bread?*

“ I should be glad to know,” cried *Mirabeau* with an intrepidity, attended with little danger to him, “ upon what authority any “ persons presume here to dictate laws to “ us? Surely the friends of liberty are not “ come here to restrain the liberty of the “ Assembly?” This apostrophe was greatly applauded, and imposed silence on the multitude. The Assembly did not break up till four in the morning, and then upon repeated assurances that *all was quiet*, and that there was nothing to fear. Some Deputies nevertheless passed the remainder of the night in the Hall; among whom were *Barnave, Mirabeau, Petion*, and other zealous Demagogues.

From

From about eighty to a hundred of the *Gardes-du-Corps* had remained within the Palace, and guarded all the posts of it with the greatest vigilance. The posts on the outside were occupied by the former French Guards, with no stronger force than before the Revolution; as if the presence of so many thousands of brigands, whose horrible projects were but too well known, required no further measures of safety than usual. *M. de la Fayette*, by taking no precautions whatever, wished no doubt to prove that there was nothing to fear, and perhaps he was weak enough to believe it: but with such weakness an honest man may very often pass for a great villain; and must always be as responsible for those crimes he suffers to be committed, which he had the power to prevent, as if he were personally guilty. To the stupid security of *M. de la Fayette* will history therefore impute the crimes of this day.

At a quarter past five in the morning, a small party of women and brigands appeared at the iron-gate of the Princes' Court, which the former French Guards had insisted should be left open; the guard allowed them to pass, and they hurried through the Princes' Court

Court and got into the garden. They were seen and heard by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and by two of the Queen's chamber-women, who had not gone to bed, and who carefully watched all their motions. A few instants after, two women, or men in disguise, were seen to come into the great hall, who, having gone up the Princes' staircase and looked about the place, disappeared.

At half after five, the day beginning to dawn, groups of women and brigands, heated with the strong liquors which they had been provided with in profusion, covered the *Place d'Armes*, and advanced towards the Palace. This extraordinary motion determined the officer of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who commanded at the Guard-house, to order his detachment under arms; and at a quarter before six he marched at their head, to repair, as usual, to the halls of the Palace. An immense crowd, armed with pikes, guns, and clubs, pressed about the King's gate. As soon as those furies perceived the *Gardes-du-Corps*, they hooted them in the most insulting manner. "*Fire upon those scoundrels, don't miss them,*" was the general cry; and at the same time their guns were all levelled against the Guards;



Guards ; who in spite of these threats crossed the Court in their usual pace, and quietly entered the Palace : but they escaped this first danger only from the arms of the brigands having remained exposed all night to the rain, by which the priming had got wet.

The Marquis d'Aguesseau, Major of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, still depending upon the promises and on the vigilance of *M. de la Fayette*, did not imagine that an attack upon the Palace was to be feared, and contented himself with ordering the Officer on guard to station two of the *Gardes-du-Corps* at each gate. *The King* (added he) *commands and requests you not to fire upon, or to strike any person ; in short, not to defend yourselves.* They were very sensible that the inevitable consequence of such an order was to leave them defenceless to the mercy of the most ferocious cannibals, yet they nevertheless promised to obey it. " Sir," replied the Officer upon guard to *M. d'Aguesseau*, "*assure our unfortunate Master that his orders shall be obeyed, but we shall be murdered.*"

While the *Gardes-du-Corps* were taking the stations assigned them at the different  
gates

gates and in the halls of the Palace, the brigands, who had made their way into the Ministers' Court, had formed into two columns. The smaller one marched towards the Chapel, the other entered the Princes' Court, and both arrived at the same time in the Royal Court. The two Guards who had just taken their stations at the gate of the latter (*M. Deshuttet* and *M. Moreau*) were instantly surrounded and assailed by a crowd of assassins. *M. Deshuttet* fell under a thousand wounds, and was dragged expiring into the Ministers' Court. There a monster, who wore his beard long\*, rushed forward with a horrible eagerness, having an axe in his hand, and after repeated strokes severed the head of the unfortunate victim, which was instantly placed on a pike, while the multitude applauded the dreadful sight with the most ferocious shouts.

*M. Moreau* experienced the horror of seeing his comrade fall without being able to help him, while the same fate seemed to

\* This villain, whose name was *Jourdan*, and who ever after went by the name of *Coupe-tête* (the beheader), was not only remarkable for his long beard, but for two white metal plates which he wore, one at his back and the other on his breast.

await himself. His musketoon had been torn from him: seized by his cross-belt he struggled with the murderers, and was fortunate enough to get from their hands; but he was pursued by the brigands, whose numbers were every instant increasing, armed with guns, pistols, bayonets, halberts, and sticks with knives. Dreadful howlings announced their entrance into the Palace: they soon arrived at the foot of the great staircase, and ran up in crowds, uttering imprecations and the most sanguinary threats against the Queen. As soon as they appeared, the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who were stationed on the balustrade that ran from the King's hall to the Queen's, advanced to receive the first shock, and to give that unfortunate Princess time to escape. Eight or ten of them went down a few steps and endeavoured to calm those furies:—"Friends," said they, "you love your good King, and yet come into his Palace to disturb his rest and make him uneasy."—*Surrender your arms!* was the reply they received from the crowd that pushed forward upon them. Overcome by numbers, they were forced to retreat, and fortunately entered the Queen's hall in time to shut the door of it before

before the brigands could prevent it. The rage of these villains became but the more furious; they cried out loudly for the Queen's head, and beat with violence at the door of the Hall where the guards were, and at that of the great Hall, which resisted for some moments. The lower pannel of the latter was soon forced in: the *Gardes-du-Corps* stopped it up with a large chest that held fire-wood, which they drew to the opening in spite of being pierced with pikes. Fruitless efforts! the brigands opened a passage at last, and overturned every thing in their way. *M. de Varicourt* was the first they seized: he attempted to take refuge in the great Hall, whither he was pursued, and fell beneath the fatal blow into the arms of one of his comrades. They stabbed him again and again, and committed unheard of cruelties upon his body. At this time another column of brigands came up by the Hall of the *Cent Suisses*, crossed the great Hall, went into the Hall of the Queen's Guards, and joined the people who had entered by the great staircase.

Compelled to yield to numbers, several of the *Gardes-du-Corps* fell back to the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*, which they entered and barricadoed

themselves. Those who remained in the great Hall and in that of the Queen's Guards were at this moment the most exposed to the rage of the brigands, who were crying out more than ever, *that they must cut off the Queen's head, that they wanted to tear her heart out.* M. Durepaire seeing these monsters take the way to her Majesty's apartments, and fearing that she had not yet had time to leave it, throws himself before them, and calls to them—"Wretches! what are you going to do?" He presents his musketoon at them; thirty assassins immediately spring upon him, disarm and throw him down, then beat him, and drag him out of the Hall as far as the banisters of the great staircase. A man with a pike attempts to pierce his heart; he has fortunately strength enough remaining, and presence of mind to seize the pike and tear it out of the hands of the villain; he makes use of it to parry the blows aimed at him: he now sees the door of the King's Hall half opened, and makes a last effort to reach it: his comrades run to save him, draw him to them by his coat, succeed in pulling him in, and thus rescue him from the hands of his executioners.

M. Mio-

*M. Miomandre de St. Marie* seeing his comrade dragged along, flew to the Queen's apartments, half opens the door, and, perceiving a woman at the extremity of the next room, calls out—"Madam, save the Queen; they are seeking her life. I am here alone against thousands of tigers; my comrades have been forced to quit their Hall." He shuts the door, and after some moments of resistance is thrown upon the ground—an enormous blow from the butt-end of a gun lays his head open; his butchers seeing him weltering in his blood, and supposing that they have killed him, leave him to go and get arms from the great Hall. He collects his strength, and takes advantage of that moment to fly to the King's Hall, where he rejoins *M. Du-repaire*.

The Queen, called by her two faithful chamber-maids, (*Madame Thibaut* and *Madame Augué*) has but just time to cross the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*, and escape half naked. During this short passage the most menacing clamours assail her ears—"She is a *Messalina*," cry the monsters; "she has betrayed the Country, and sworn the ruin

“ of the French ; she must be hanged, she  
“ must be hanged.”

The King was not in his apartment. Suddenly awakened by the howlings of the brigands as they were breaking in, he had seen them from a window of the Clock Cabinet rushing in a crowd towards the great staircase. Trembling for the Queen's life he hurried on his clothes, and going out by the private passage made under the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*, called the *King's Passage*, arrived in her room just as she had gone out of it. Here he found only six of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, who apprized him of the Queen's flight, the massacre of their comrades, and begged that they might be permitted to escort him. The King, fearing to expose their lives, and wishing to ascertain himself whether they might go out without danger, desired them to wait a moment in the Queen's chamber till he sent them orders, which in a minute after they received, to repair to the *Oeil-de-Bœuf*.

The first thing the Queen did in coming to the King's room, was to ask for her children. She sent for her daughter, and at the same time Madame *de Tourzel* arrived with  
the

the Dauphin in her arms. Being now less uneasy as to the fate of her august family, her Majesty finished dressing herself with the greatest haste, to be the sooner ready to show herself to the people clad as became her dignity, to present herself as a Queen to the weapons of her murderers, and to the homage of her faithful subjects.

At the time that *M. Durepaire* was flying to the King's Hall, a pistol-shot that was directed at him killed one of the brigands who pressed closest upon him. The dead body of the man was immediately carried into the Marble Court and laid upon the steps, where it was told that he had been killed by the *Gardes-du-Corps*. This atrocious falsehood spread in an instant through all the Courts of the Palace, and redoubled the exasperation and fury of the populace against the Guards, whom, in expiation of their crime, they talk of sacrificing upon the body. Already were they leading *M. de Lille* up to it with that intention, when happily the physician *Gondran*, a Captain of the Paris National Guard, who was just come into the Marble Court with his detachment, inspired his soldiers with such a sense of the horror of the murder, as to determine them to prevent it :



they threw themselves upon the band of brigands who were leading the *Garde-du-Corps*, rescued him from their hands, and sent him back under a guard to the King's apartments.

It is important to observe here, that Captain *Gondran*, who, according to his deposition\*, arrived in the Marble Court at a quarter past six, declared, that some time after he had got there the report of a pistol was heard, after which the dead body of a workman, with the skull fractured, &c. was brought out. It must have been then half past six, or thereabouts; but the brigands had entered the Palace a quarter before six, and had previously massacred two of the *Gardes-du-Corps*; so that, if it were even proved that the pistol that had killed this workman had been fired by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, it would be false and absurd to say with the Revolutionary Journalists, and with the Reporter *Chabroud*, a still more impudent liar, that the breaking into the Palace, and the first enormities committed against the *Gardes-du-Corps*, had been in

\* See his Deposition, No. 28, p. 54, Vol. I. of the Proceedings at the Chatelet.

consequence

consequence of the murder of this workman. Besides, the Proceedings prove the fact relative to the death of this man. One of the depositions most worthy of credit shows, that the shot which killed this workman *was aimed at the King's Guards, as it came from a point where there were none of them, nor any person in regimentals.* These were the very words given in evidence by *Valdoné*, one of the *Cent Suisses* who was stationed at the bottom of the marble steps : nor was it upon conjecture or hearsay that he gave this evidence, but, on the contrary, he positively affirms that the man was shot close by him\*. The depositions upon which the Reporter *Chabroud* founds his imputation of this murder to the Guards, are vague, insignificant, and contradictory ; consequently unworthy of credit.

Although the assassins were most exasperated against the Guards who defended the entrance of the Queen's apartment, all those who were on duty at the different stations within were exposed to the same danger. Several of them were wounded more or less

\* See his Deposition, No. 33, page 64, Vol. I. of the Proceedings at the Chatelet.

dangerously. The Chevalier *de Grater*, seized by the collar and beaten, was dragged out of the Palace by a large mob, who were crying furiously *A la lanterne! à la lanterne!* He was fortunately observed by some grenadiers of the late French Guards who took him under their protection, and offered to escort him. While they were conducting him, a dastardly assassin came up and clapped his piece to his head; but as he fired, one of the grenadiers turned the gun away, and *M. de Grater* was not hurt by it. He got to the Hotel of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, whence he hastened in disguise, and took refuge at an honest Citizen's of Versailles, who gave him an asylum and saved him.

The brigands, among whom were observed many men disguised as women, having wounded or dispersed all the *Gardes-du-Corps* they had found in the Hall of the Queen's Guards, and having seized their arms, made their way without any obstacle to her Majesty's apartment. Transported with rage at not finding her there, they exercised their stupid ferocity upon the bed from which she had just risen; some of them crying out, *We have missed our aim.* They rushed back to the gallery with the hope of forcing

forcing the *Oeil-de-Boeuf*, where several of the *Gardes-du-Corps* were assembled; who firmly resolved to defend the lives of the Royal Family to the last drop of their blood. They had barricaded the doors of the Hall, and piled up behind them chests of drawers, sideboards, and the heaviest articles of furniture they could collect.

While the brigands were attacking the door that opened on the gallery, one of the King's most virtuous and zealous servants, the Marquis *de Vaudreuil*, Lieutenant-General of the Marine, appeared at the opposite door. This loyal officer was eagerly hastening to share with the *Gardes-du-Corps* the honour of making a rampart of their persons for his Master. He found the Hall before the *Oeil-de-Boeuf* occupied by an immense crowd, chiefly composed of the National Guard of Paris, who were expressing themselves with violence against the Guards, and preparing to attack them. The Marquis *de Vaudreuil*, whose red ribbon had caught their eyes, endeavoured to pacify them; "But why these bayonets?" said he; "you will hurt yourselves: with whom are you angry?"—"With the *Gardes-du-Corps*, General." "What have they  
" done

“ done to you ? ” — “ What have they done  
“ to us ! Sent and defied us to attack them.”  
— “ You are deceived ; it is an imposition :  
“ can you believe a hundred men mad  
“ enough to defy thirty thousand ? ” This  
reflection was too sensible not to make some  
impression, and doubtless contributed not a  
little to the happy issue that followed.

As soon as the Marquis *de Vaudreuil*,  
who saw that he could not enter the Royal  
apartments on this side, had left the Hall,  
the *Gardes-du-Corps* heard a violent knock-  
ing at the door of the *Oeil-de-Boeuf* : on  
which they asked who was there ? “ The  
“ Grenadiers.” — “ What is it you would  
“ have ? ” — “ We would have you take the  
“ National cockade.” — “ We have the re-  
“ gimental cockade which we have always  
“ worn.” — “ We have been deceived then,  
“ and all Paris believes that you are wearing  
“ the black cockade.” This answer inspir-  
ing the *Gardes-du-Corps* with some confi-  
dence, one of them, *M. de Chevannes*, anx-  
ious to be more positively assured of the  
disposition of the Grenadiers, opened the  
door, appeared before them, and addressed  
them thus : “ Gentlemen, if a victim be  
“ wanting, I come to offer myself ; I am  
“ one

“ one of the commanders of the station, and  
 “ to me belongs the honour of perishing the  
 “ first in defence of my King; but then  
 “ learn to respect our good King.”

The Captain of the Grenadiers, the brave *Gondran*, whom I have already mentioned, greatly affected by this speech, giving his hand to *M. de Chevannes*, replied: “ Far  
 “ from seeking your life, we come to de-  
 “ fend you against your murderers.” At these words all the Grenadiers threw themselves into the arms of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, changed their caps for their hats, and the National cockade for the white. Having sealed this reconciliation with the kindest embraces, they marched through the apartments, drove out the brigands, and made themselves masters of all the stations, in order to secure the Palace from a fresh irruption.

I have hitherto spoken only of the outrages committed by the column of brigands that entered the Palace by the Princes' Court. The brigands that composed the one that took its way by the chapel, were as obstinately and furiously bent on the pursuit of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, but happily had less opportunity of exercising their fury. The *Chevalier de Raymond*, who was on duty  
 at

at the passage of the Theatre, was unmercifully beaten, disarmed, and stripped; they left him only his shirt, and in that state dragged him by his hair as far as the barracks of the late French Guards, where a Parisian National Guard took him under his protection, and saved his life.

Two others of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, pursued by the brigands, passed by *Madame Elizabeth's* door, and informed their comrade who was on guard there, that the Palace was forced, and that the lives of the King and Queen were threatened. He waked the Princess's people, who offered him a retreat; this he refused, but *Madame Elizabeth* compelled him by the most express command to go into her apartment, and became his guardian angel. She had ever been the guardian angel of misfortune, and was this day the protectress of valour and fidelity. The lives of two more of the *Gardes-du-Corps* were saved by the humanity of *Madame Adelaide* and *Madame Victoire*, the King's aunts: the former of these Princesses sent away in time the guard who was on duty at her door, and the latter would have no guard at hers.

A few

A few of the Guards who had returned to their Hotel the night before, were in a manner detained prisoners there by the Parisian National Guards, who had made themselves masters of the Hotel on their arrival, as well as of the arms they found there. The first who were informed of the irruption into the Palace, rushed out precipitately to make their way thither. This was just at the time that the assassins, driven from the apartments, enraged at not having been able to execute the most execrable of crimes, and at having suffered some victims to escape, were spreading themselves through the town with the abominable project of glutting their vengeance upon all the *Gardes-du-Corps* they should meet. The first whom they saw was *M. de Lukerque*, whom they seized at the entrance of the *Rue de l'Orangerie*. A thousand ferocious voices cried out at once, *Cut his throat! hang him!* Cruelly beaten and stripped, he was dragged with a rope round his neck into the stable-yard, and thrown upon the edge of the watering-place. He rose; but thousands of pikes and bayonets were pointed at him, and at the same time he received a blow on his head from the butt end of a gun, which



brought him to the ground. Weltering in his blood, he looked for death to terminate his torture; and already was an axe raised for the purpose, when a grenadier of the Parisian National Guard sprung into the midst of the assassins, and prevented it from falling. The intrepidity of this man awed the cannibals, who stood motionless with stupor, staring at the brave grenadier, who raised *M. de Lukerque*, took him in his arms, and carried him to a group of sixteen or seventeen *Gardes-du-Corps*, who were at that moment coming out of the Hotel, escorted by a large detachment of the Parisian National Guard.

One of *M. de Lukerque's* comrades who had come out of the Hotel with him (*M. Vaquier de la Motte*) had reached the descent of the avenue from Sceaux, when he was pulled so violently by his coat as to draw him back some steps, although he was a man of prodigious strength. The brigands pressed upon him in such numbers that they could not aim their blows well, and he was fortunate enough to parry them with his hands. This unequal struggle would have delayed his death but a very few moments, if a dispute had not arisen among his  
his

his executioners upon the nature of the punishment they should inflict upon him. Some were for beginning by cutting off his head; others, on the contrary, were for hanging him; and he was alternately defended and dragged by one and the other party. One of the assassins proposed as a means of conciliation, to carry the unfortunate Guard to Paris, and hang him on the *Place-de-Grève*. It was natural enough, indeed, to contrive for the good Parisians this little share of a feast so worthy of them, and of which they defrayed all the expences. This proposal, however, was answered with the most furious yells, and had nearly united all opinions for the readiest kind of execution. The monster with the long beard was there, with his axe raised, complaining that he had been made to come to Versailles to cut off only two heads, and persuading those who were holding *M. Vaquier de la Motte* by the hair, to throw him upon the ground. His vigorous resistance and great size, caught the eyes of two grenadiers of the late French Guards, who flew to his assistance, called their comrades, dispersed the brigands, and carried off the victim.—  
Their desire of saving so brave a man determined

mined them to conduct him to the colours of the district of the Feuillans ; but their humanity had nearly been very fatal. They had scarcely come into the ranks of the battalion of that district, when a man in regimentals was cowardly enough to fire a pistol at his back. Fortunately the ball struck upon the clasp of *M. Vaquier de la Motte's* cross-belt, by which he escaped being wounded. The National Guard, exasperated, were for putting the assassin to death immediately, and with much difficulty were satisfied, on the solicitation of the Officers, with taking him up that he might be tried and punished in a more regular manner.

Several *Gardes-du-Corps* were wounded more or less dangerously ; and doubtless they would have all perished under the blows of the brigands, of whom the infamous Militia of Versailles were the auxiliaries, had they not been thus constantly, thus courageously, rescued. *M. de la Fayette* himself, when once awake, exerted all the zeal and activity he was capable of, not in repairing the irreparable mischief which his credulity and his sleep had occasioned, but in stopping the course of it. He was on horseback, and riding from place to place, to collect his troops

troops together, when he perceived fifteen or sixteen of the *Gardes-du-Corps* dragged along by a furious populace, whose design was to hang them all at once on the lamp-irons in the *Place d'Armes*. He galloped up, harangued the people, declared he would not suffer brave men who had done no harm to be murdered; that he took them under his protection, and that they must massacre himself before they offered them the slightest insult. While he was thus gaining time, a company of grenadiers came by.—“ Brave grenadiers!” cried he to them, “ will you suffer brave men to be basely assassinated? Swear to me, on the faith of grenadiers, that you will not suffer any harm to be done them.” The grenadiers swore it, placed the Guards in the midst of them, and conducted them to the Royal Court.

The Royal Family, dismayed, had taken refuge in the King's Cabinet, when the Marquis *de Vaudreuil* entered. The Ministers had not yet been able to repair thither. They did not arrive till after the brigands were driven out of the Palace, nor was their presence either useful or encouraging: they kept the most mournful silence.

Mr. *Necker* standing in a corner of the cabinet, with both his hands over his face, seemed plunged in the deepest reverie. The King was in despair. The Queen alone preserving her great character, consoled some, encouraged others, and caressed her children. The lively interest she took in the fate of the *Gardes-du-Corps*, and her hope of seeing them assisted, made her forget her own danger in standing too near the windows, and she often went to them to see what was passing in the Court. At one time, *M. de la Luzerne*, the Minister of the Navy, saw a ball pass within a few inches of the fash where her Majesty was standing; upon which he advanced immediately, and, without any affectation, but with an air of curiosity, slipped between the window and the Queen. This was not lost upon her Majesty. "I see your motive," said she to him, "and I thank you, *M. de Luzerne*; but I will not have you remain there; it is not your place, but mine: the King has need of so faithful a servant as you." *M. de la Luzerne* insisted in vain; she forced him to remove, but consented, on his representations, to stand a little farther from the window.

If

If Mr. *Necker* had had the least energy, had he been as faithful a servant as *M. de la Luzerne*, he might with much less danger, and he ought to have shown himself to those furies, whose idol he was, to have employed all the influence he derived from his popularity, in making them return to their duty, and to have produced his most sentimental phrases to recall the respect and love they owed their King. If he had not succeeded, he would at least have had the glory of having tried. But Mr. *Necker* could only bewail the outrages that were committed, under the windows of the Palace, upon the unfortunate Guards. At that very moment the brigands were going to put four of them to death, quarter-masters and brigadiers, whose heads were white with age, and who said to the people who were about to sacrifice them—"Our lives

"are in your hands; you may put us to  
 "death; but you will only shorten our days  
 "a very little, and we shall not die dis-  
 "honoured. An Officer of the Parisian National Guard, affected with this address and the venerable air of the Officers, threw his arms round the neck of the oldest, and, embracing him, said—"No, we will not

“ put such brave men as you to death.”— His comrades followed his example; they embraced the Guards, and carried them in triumph into the Royal Court.

This sudden movement, with the tumult and the shouts that accompanied it, had still, at some distance, so great an appearance of fury, that the King was greatly alarmed at it. At the very time, too, he was told that his Guards were every where pursued and put to death in a shocking manner. Far then from suspecting that those who were raised up were carried in triumph, he thought that they were going to be put to death; and without consulting any body, he opened the window, appeared upon the balcony, and entreated the people to spare them. At the same time the Guards who were with the King, thinking only of saving their comrades, took off their bandoleers and threw them to the people, shewed the National Cockade in their hats, and cried *Vive la Nation!*

From that moment the chief aim of the conspirators was disappointed. Their sanguinary Agents began to be tired of the carnage, and were besides restrained by the Parisian National Guards, who, flattered by the King's conduct, and satisfied with the  
action

action of his Guards, answered with transport their shout of *Vive la Nation!* with the unanimous shouts of *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Gardes-du-Corps!* These shouts, a thousand times repeated in the Courts and in the *Place d'Armes*, soon reached as far as the avenue; and now the victims whom they were going to massacre are kindly received, and borne in triumph to the King's windows. Those about his Majesty are invited to come down; they accept the invitation, and share with their comrades the boisterous caresses of those very women, the ferocious embraces of those very brigands, who but the moment before would have put them all to death.

Amidst these transports of joy, and to increase their intoxication, the populace called loudly to see the Queen. She immediately appeared on the balcony, with *Madame Royale* and the *Dauphin*. *No children! no children!* cried a thousand voices. The Queen, not at all alarmed at the atrocious intentions implied by those cries, did not hesitate to send in the children, and appeared alone with such dignity and magnanimity, that her savage assassins, struck with astonishment, forgot the arms that were in their



hands, and her Majesty ceasing to be the object of their malignity, became that of their admiration.

This was the moment chosen by the Duke of *Orleans* to go to the Palace. A few minutes before he had been seen in the Ministers' Court, surrounded by brigands who looked upon him as their Chief, kindly smiling at the horrible testimonies of their attachment. Their hands still reeking with blood had been lavishing applauses upon him, their contaminated mouths had been roaring about him the most criminal acclamations joined with those of *Vive le Duc d'Orleans!* \* He did not shudder with horror—he did not repress them—Shall I say it? if we are to believe the witnesses who were examined in the proceedings at the *Châtelet*, he encouraged those acclamations. He had been seen at the head of the regicides, upon the great stair-case, pointing the way to the Queen's apartments†.

The Queen having left the balcony, a

\* See in the proceedings of the *Châtelet* the depositions of *M. de la Chatre*, *M. de Frondeville*, and *M. Duval de Nampiti*.

† Ibid. *La Serre's* deposition, No. ccxxvi. page 82, vol. ii.

single voice from among the crowd that was collected under the windows of the Palace cried out, *The King to Paris*. This cry was at first repeated only by that multitude of simpletons whose chief part in a mob is to bear *chorus* in all the cries they hear, without troubling themselves about what they signify; but it very soon became that of the people and of the army, who till then had shewn no intention of carrying the King to Paris. Surrounded by brigands, whose fury it was very easy to excite anew, the King had evidently no means of resisting the imperious unanimity of their cries; yet before he decided, he wished to consult the National Assembly, and sent them an invitation to come and hold their Sitting in the Palace. But to inform them of the King's desire to confer with them, it was necessary to wait till they were assembled, which they could not be till eleven o'clock. The proposal of repairing to the Palace was then put to the vote, and would have been adopted by the majority, had not *Mirabeau*, who well knew what was passing under the windows, opposed the King's desire as successfully as hypocritically and wickedly. He doubtless feared that the Assembly might second the repugnance his Majesty must have to going

to Paris, and thereby overthrow one of the most important measures of a plan of which there is reason to believe that he was the instigator. He had the audacity to maintain, that " it was derogatory to the dignity of " the Assembly to go to the Palace; that " they could not deliberate under the roof " of Kings; that the Resolutions would be " suspected; and that it would be sufficient " to send a Deputation of six-and-thirty " Members." The President protested in vain against this; and some other Members tried, with as little success, to impress upon the Assembly, that it was the duty of the Representatives of the Nation to fly to the assistance of the Monarch in danger. The rabble that filled the galleries, and who were but a detachment from those that were besieging the Palace, supported *Mirabeau's* motion by such intimidating applause, that it was decreed.

The impatience of the populace, their persevering cries, and *M. de la Fayette's* solicitations, no longer suffered the King to delay coming to a resolution; and seeing himself deserted by the National Assembly, he promised to set out at noon for Paris, making no other conditions for his departure, than that of being accompanied by his family, who

who had made him promise not to separate himself from them. The principal motive that determined their Majesties to take so hazardous a resolution was, the positive intelligence they received, that the agents of the *Orleans* Faction, who directed at their pleasure all the motions of the brigands and rebels, were at that moment employing the most active manœuvres to have the Duke of *Orleans* instantly proclaimed King, if *Louis XVI.* should refuse complying with the pretended wish of the Capital, which the populace were shouting forth.

The Duke of *Orléans* could certainly appear in the King's apartments at so critical a moment for no other purpose than to pry into what was passing there, and to give timely notice of it to the leaders of his conspiracy. He was neither disconcerted at not being spoken to by any person, nor by the looks of indignation darted at him from every countenance. He went and placed himself at the door of the Cabinet through which the King had passed, remaining some minutes with his back fixed against the wall. The Queen advancing to go into the Cabinet, he had the impudence to step towards her, offering his arm. Her Majesty struck with horror pushed it away with a  
dreadful

dreadful frown, and going alone into the Cabinet shut the door after her. At length he quitted the King's apartments, where he left the Royal Family, and the zealous Royalists, by whom they were surrounded, in the utmost anxiety respecting the resolution their Majesties were about to take. The President *de Frondeville*\*, a Member of the National Assembly, was among the number of those faithful servants: in a profound reverie he put his elbow, without attention, against a concealed door that appeared as a part of the wainscot, and which opened into a little back closet of the King's. The door yielded, and the President surprised looked into the closet, where he perceived the King and Queen, and was hastily putting the door to, when the Queen called to him, and said: "No, no, you may come in." She was sitting with a writing-box on her lap, in which she was looking for some keys; the Dauphin was at her side, and the King standing up before her. — "Well!" "*M. de Frondeville*, (continued the Queen) "we are to go to Paris." The President replied by a gesture of resignation and of grief; the only reply that prudence could

\* *M. de Frondeville* was President of the Parliament of Rouen.

dictate on so delicate an occasion. “ We  
 “ were thinking (continued her Majesty)  
 “ where we should be able to lodge our good  
 “ *Babet*\*; we wish that dear Sister to be as  
 “ comfortable and as near us as possible.”  
 The King, sad and pensive, did not say a  
 word. The Queen, after a short silence,  
 rose with emotion, took her son in her arms,  
 and, presenting him to the King, said:  
 “ Promise me, I conjure you, in the name  
 “ of all that is most dear to you, for the  
 “ welfare of France, for your own, for that  
 “ of this dear child—promise me, that if  
 “ ever the like circumstance happens again,  
 “ and you have the means of removing, you  
 “ will not lose the opportunity.” The  
 King, greatly affected, dropped a few tears,  
 and went into another closet without making  
 any answer.

Soon after the Royal Family appeared  
 again at the balcony, attended by the Ministers  
 and others who were then in the King’s  
 apartment, when *M. de la Fayette* announced  
 to the People, that his Majesty had determined  
 to go to Paris. He added, that evil-

\* The abbreviation of Elizabeth, and was the familiar  
 appellation given by the King and Queen to *Mada-  
 me Elizabeth*.

disposed

disposed persons were greatly interested in exciting the people, whom they misled, to insurrection; that he knew them very well, and would take a proper time to unmask them. The King also spoke to the people: "My children (said he), you wish me to go with you to Paris, and I consent to it, provided I do not part with my wife and my family." — Yes, yes, yes, shouted thousands of voices, mingled with some cries of *Vive la Reine!* "My children, (added the King) I demand safety for my Guards." *Vive le Roi! Vivent les Gardes-du-Corps!* was now heard from all quarters; and the cry was answered by the *Gardes-du-Corps*, with *Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!* M. de la Fayette then made them take the oath, holding up their hats with the National cockades which were in them turned towards the people; on which the whole army raised theirs on the points of their bayonets. This reconciliation had all the appearance of sincerity, and was celebrated by a general discharge of artillery and a long volley of small arms.

The intelligence of the King's departure for Paris spread the greatest transports of joy through the Courts of the Palace,

Palace, but the deepest consternation reigned within. Several of the former French Guards themselves were observed in the apartments showing their despair, and no doubt their repentance too, by weeping bitterly. This fact, which has been attested to me by those who were eye-witnesses of it, and worthy of the highest credit, is very far from being improbable. When the French Guards betrayed the King, they only sold their honour without foreseeing the consequences of it, which now appeared before their eyes in the most hideous view, at a time when the wages of their guilt were spent, and the shame and remorse of it only remained: it was impossible but they must have been greatly affected, and their feelings returned and revolted against a step for which they had by no means reckoned.

The great event announced by such noisy rejoicings was not yet known in the Assembly, and it was reported that the King was going thither. After deliberating for near an hour upon the manner in which they should receive him, they heard that his Majesty was preparing to go to Paris. *Mirabeau* on this moved, without losing a moment, that it should be immediately decreed,



creed, that the National Assembly were inseparable from the King during the present Session. I have already shown what interest the factious had in the removal of the Assembly to Paris. *Mirabeau's* motion certainly proceeded from no other motive; but as on such an occasion it might be considered an act of fidelity and devotion to the King, it was unanimously decreed. A Deputation was appointed to go immediately and present this decree to his Majesty; who replied in these terms: "I receive with  
" great satisfaction the fresh testimonies of  
" attachment which the Assembly give me.  
" I wish from my heart never to be separated from them. I am going to Paris  
" with the Queen and my children, and  
" will give the necessary orders that the  
" Assembly may come and continue their  
" labours there."

This answer was brought to the Assembly just as they had decreed, that a deputation of a hundred of their members should accompany the King to Paris. "To signify for ever this memorable day of harmony (cried *Mirabeau*), and to show that the state vessel is no longer in danger, but that it is about to move on as smoothly as  
" ever,

“ ever, it is my opinion that we should  
 “ proceed immediately to the consideration  
 “ of a decree for the taxes presented by the  
 “ Minister of the Finances, and upon an  
 “ address to be sent to our Constituents.”

During the debate the President (*Mounier*) being charged to name the Deputies who were to accompany the King to Paris, was engaged in drawing out the list, from which he excluded *Mirabeau*, who had got his name inscribed by one of the Secretaries. *Mirabeau* complained very bitterly against this, but in vain. He pretended that he had only asked to be in the deputation in order to appease the people, in case of any tumult on the King's arrival at Paris. “ Sir,” said *Mounier* to him, “ they who have power  
 “ enough over the minds of the People to  
 “ appease them, may also inflame them.”

The rest of the Sitting was engaged in discussing Mr. *Necker*'s plan, which was unanimously adopted with some amendments.

The King did not leave Versailles till one o'clock. The *Queen*, the *Dauphin*, *Madame Royale*, *Monseigneur*, *Madame*, *Madame Elizabeth*, and *Madame de Tourzel*, were in his Majesty's coach; which was followed by the Deputies in their carriages. A

detachment of brigands carrying the heads of two of the *Gardes-du-Corps* in triumph formed the advanced guard, and had set out two hours before. Those cannibals stopped a short time at Seves, where they carried their ferocity to such a pitch as to force a wretched hair-dresser to dress the hair of the two bloody heads. The main body of the Parisian army followed them immediately: before the King's coach walked the fish-women who had come from Paris the day before, and the whole army of abandoned females, the vile refuse of their sex, who were still intoxicated with rage and wine. Several of them sat astride on the cannon, commemorating with the most horrible songs all the crimes they had been committing, or had been witnesses to. Others nearer the King's carriage sung allegorical airs, the insulting allusions of which they applied to the Queen by the grossest gestures. Waggons of corn and flour, from Versailles, formed a part of the procession escorted by grenadiers, and surrounded by women and *the porters of the market*, armed with pikes, or carrying long branches of poplar. This part of the procession had a very singular effect at a little distance: it might be called  
a walking

a walking forest, through which the steel points of pikes and the musket-barrels were seen glittering. In the brutal transports of their joy, the women stopped the passengers, and, pointing to the King's carriage, roared out, "Courage, my lads! We sha'n't want bread any more; we bring you the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's boy." Behind his Majesty were some of his faithful Guards, part on foot, part on horseback, most of them without hats, and all disarmed and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. The file of carriages was preceded, accompanied, and followed by the Dragoons, the Regiment of Flanders, the *Cent-Suisses*, and the National Guards.

I witnessed this heart-breaking sight—I beheld this ominous procession—I saw, in the midst of this tumult, of these clamours, of these songs, interrupted by frequent discharges of small arms, which the hand of treachery or of awkwardness might have rendered so fatal—I saw, with tears of admiration and of grief, the Queen preserving the most undaunted tranquillity of mind, an inexpressible air of nobleness and dignity.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

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*Agitation of the Capital on the Morning of the 6th of October—Remarkable Note of M. de la Fayette's—Arrival of the Brigands carrying in Triumph the Heads of the two Gardes-du-Corps—The Terror of the Parisians dissipated on hearing that the King and the Royal Family had set out for Paris—The King goes with his Family to the Hotel-de-Ville—Speech—The Queen's Presence of Mind—False Charges against the Gardes-du-Corps—A Letter from M. d'Estaing to the Queen—M. Augeard—The Scarcity of Bread ceases on the King's Arrival—Stupidity of the Parisians—A Letter from the King to the Assembly—Proclamation—Retreat*

*Retreat of several Deputies—The Municipality of Versailles petition the Assembly not to remove from that Town, and express their Wishes for the King's speedy Return—Alarm of some of the Deputies—Mirabeau denounces M. de St. Priest—The Repository for Pledges threatened to be pillaged; on what occasion—Proceedings commenced upon the Outrages committed on the 5th and 6th of October—Alarms—M. de la Fayette compels the Duke of Orleans to set out for England.*

**DURING** the night between the 5th and 6th of October, Paris was under the greatest alarms. All the streets were lighted up as at the beginning of the Revolution. Patrols and Deputations from Districts were seen every moment going and coming, one after the other, to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, to learn news of the army. The Representatives of the Commune had received none themselves, and were very uneasy at it, when one of the civil officers (*Desmouffeaux*) who had been commissioned to accompany the National Guards, arrived at six o'clock in the morning. He gave an account of the events of which he had been witness at Versailles,

and delivered a note from the General to the President, that informed him of the complete re-establishment of tranquillity. *M. de la Fayette* had written this note before he went to bed, and at the very moment it was read in the *Hotel-de-Ville*, the King's Palace was stained with the blood of his murdered Guards, and the most horrible outrages endangered the life of the Queen. The very same morning too, *M. de la Fayette*, not a quarter of an hour before he was dragged to Versailles by the Paris mob, had written to the Assembly and to *M. de St. Priest*, to impart his hopes of the complete re-establishment of the tranquillity of the Capital. This General was assuredly neither conjurer nor prophet ; and his most encouraging dispatches should ever after have been the cause of dismay.

Bills stuck up about the town by order of the Commune, on the 6th of October in the morning, removed the fears of the Parisians, by informing them that the National Guards had experienced no hostility ; that the King had received them kindly, and had admitted them to do duty about his person. Some hours after, the group of men and women who were carrying in triumph the heads of the

two *Gardes-du-Corps* murdered at the Palace made their appearance, and the horrid sight again spread consternation through the Capital. But a courier from *M. de la Fayette* and another advertisement from the *Hotel-de-Ville* soon make it known to the public, that the King and the Royal Family are coming to Paris—and the most lively joy succeeds to the general grief. An immense body of people immediately fly to meet their Majesties; and the crowd of the curious, attracted by so novel and unexpected a sight, forms a lane from Passy to the *Hotel-de-Ville*.

*M. Bailly* went, according to custom, to receive the King, and pay his compliments to him at the Barrier. It was about seven o'clock in the evening when his Majesty arrived there. What disgust, what indignation must the Royal Family have felt, on hearing the Mayor of Paris, in his harangue, call it *a glorious day!* that day of carnage and of horror, on which the King of France, torn from his Palace by an army of ruffians, arrived at the *Hotel-de-Ville* of his Capital, preceded by the bleeding heads of his Guards, and forcibly dragged by their murderers!



The King and Queen holding their children by the hands entered the Assembly of the Representatives of the Commune with an air of the greatest serenity, and placed themselves upon the throne which had been prepared for them. MONSIEUR, MADAME, and *Madame Elizabeth* accompanied their Majesties. The immense crowd that filled the Hall expressed their joy by repeated cries of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive le Dauphin! Vive la Famille Royale!* The President of the Commune addressed his Majesty in the following Speech:

“ Sire, if ever the French should forget  
“ that it is their interest to cherish their  
“ King, we would attest the virtues of  
“ *Louis XVI.* to a People, among whom  
“ the love of their Prince is rather a neces-  
“ sary enjoyment than a duty. You have  
“ even, Sire, attached us more strongly to  
“ you, by adopting that Constitution which  
“ will in future form a double tie between  
“ the Throne and the Nation; and now, to  
“ leave nothing for us to wish, you are  
“ come with the dearest objects of your  
“ affection to dwell amongst us. How-  
“ ever ardent the sentiments that fill our  
“ bosoms,

" bosoms, we will not presume to say that  
 " your choice has led you to those of your  
 " subjects who love you most; but when an  
 " adored father is called upon by the desires  
 " of an immense family, he must naturally  
 " prefer the place where the greatest num-  
 " ber of his children are assembled."

The King, having no other answer to  
 make to this speech than that which he had  
 already made to *M. Bailly*, ordered him to  
 repeat it. The words were, " It is always  
 " with pleasure and with confidence I find  
 " myself among the inhabitants of my good  
 " city of Paris \*." *M. Bailly*, in repeating  
 this reply, having forgotten the words *and*  
*with confidence*, the Queen in an audible  
 voice immediately put him in mind of them.  
 " Gentlemen," cried *M. Bailly*, " this is  
 " more gratifying to you than if I had my-  
 " self repeated them." At these words,  
 shouts and clapping of hands were reiterated,

\* *Good City of Paris!* The Theatre of crimes more  
 numerous and more atrocious than have been committed  
 in all the cities of the world put together! In what  
 then, and for whom art thou good? Alas! no longer  
 art thou so but for villains.

and attended their Majesties till they left the *Hotel-de-Ville*. The King and his family, oppressed with the fatigue of these two dreadful days, now went and took possession of the Palace of the Thuilleries—or, rather, thither were they committed prisoners by *the good City of Paris*. MONSIEUR and MADAME went to the Palace of the Luxembourg.

On the following days the Revolutionary Journals, the Commune of Paris, and, above all, that monstrous tribunal of inquisition known by the name of the Committee of Inquiry, invented all kinds of calumnies to palliate the outrages of the preceding days, and to make a false impression on the provinces and abroad. They published, that the People and the Parisian National Guard had gone to Versailles only to prevent the King from going to Metz; that the *Gardes-du-Corps* had excited the anger and resentment of the National Guards by refusing to drink to the health of the Nation at the entertainment given to the Regiment of Flanders; and that, if some of them had fallen on the 6th, it had been owing to their own imprudence in firing on the people. The falsehood

hood of this last charge was judicially proved, as I have already observed; and in support of the two first no authority was ever cited except the foul copies of two letters pretended to be written to the Queen by the Count *d'Estaing*, seized among his papers in a revolutionary search which was made at his house\*; and a plan for the King's escape, which *M. Augeard* (*Fermier General*) had drawn up without being bid, intending to offer it to his Majesty if ever he should have occasion for it. He had not communicated this plan to any body, when his secretary was villain enough to take the minute of it from him in order to lay it before the Committee of Police at the *Hotel-de-Ville*. *M. Augeard* was sent to prison, informations were encouraged and rewarded, and a great number of persons were arrested on suspicion of being concerned in this pretended conspiracy. It was made the grounds of a criminal proceeding, which was carried on at the Chatelet with the greatest parade, and which ended in *M. Augeard's* being acquitted.

With respect to the copies of letters seized

\* See Appendix, No. vi.

among

among *M. d'Estaing's* papers, they certainly contained that incoherence of ideas, that emphatic tone, that obscure and perplexed style, which mark all his writings: it is therefore possible that those papers were really found in his house, and I have no difficulty in believing it. But they who were acquainted with *M. d'Estaing*, know that one of his fancies, and he had many, was to imagine himself in correspondence with persons of high rank, and to write many copies of letters which he never directed to them, and which he often even left unfinished, though he preserved them with the greatest care. Among the number were his two letters to the Queen; he never had sent them to her Majesty; and had she even received them she could have paid no attention to them, for in fact nothing that *M. d'Estaing* wrote or said merited any. I used to meet him very often at *M. de Montmorin's*; but never did I know a man who so little justified his reputation as this famous conqueror of Grenada. Incapable of forming a just idea upon any thing whatever, he mistook the nature of danger as of every thing else; so that he was sometimes found encountering the greatest with the rashness of  
a mad-

a madman, and on occasions a thousand times less perilous betraying the fearfulness of a child. His cowardice on the 5th and 6th of October was unparalleled; and yet it was to his great reputation for bravery that he was indebted for his extraordinary promotion.

After the King's arrival, the bakers' shops were no longer besieged, and provisions exceeded the wants of the consumers, though their number had been considerably augmented by the Court's being established in the capital. This dreadful scarcity, which had been made the pretence for the insurrection of the 5th of October, was clearly then only a contrived one, only a powerful means, the effects of which the Agents of the *Orleans* Faction suspended or prolonged as they pleased; for the fifty cart-loads of grain or of flour, brought by the mob to Paris, were certainly not sufficient to restore plenty, being literally no more than a breakfast for the Parisians. But as it was become an essential object to the conspirators, that the King should be deprived of the liberty of going out of Paris, they neglected no measure which could make the people believe that it was to the presence of his Majesty they were

were indebted for not wanting bread. This fatal imposture, artfully disguised in expressions of gratitude and homage to *Louis XVI.* was proclaimed in all their Journals, and foolishly repeated in the speeches of all the Deputations sent to their Majesties the day after their arrival.

An immense multitude were constantly going to the Thuilleries: the garden and courts were full the whole day through, and the moment the King and Queen appeared at any window, the joy of the people broke out into the most rapturous acclamations and clapping. The same homage was paid to their children and to *Madame Elizabeth*.—The King, affected by all these demonstrations, and mistaking for love what was only stupidity, reconciled himself the more readily to the idea of fixing his abode at Paris, as the atrocious conduct of the inhabitants of Versailles could not but disgust him with that ungrateful town. His Majesty, in consequence, wrote the following letter to the National Assembly:

“ The testimonies of affection and of al-  
“ legiance which I have received from the  
“ City of Paris determine me to make it the  
“ place

“ place of my usual residence ; and fully  
 “ depending upon the assurance which the  
 “ Assembly gave me, I desire that they will  
 “ send Commissioners to Paris to choose the  
 “ most convenient situation for holding their  
 “ Sittings. Thus, without interrupting their  
 “ useful labours, I shall render the com-  
 “ munication which ought to exist between  
 “ me and the National Assembly more  
 “ punctual and more intimate.”

On the same day (October 9) the King caused a Proclamation to be issued which ran thus :

“ The King, fearing lest his faithful sub-  
 “ jects of the Provinces should learn with  
 “ pain the circumstances that have deter-  
 “ mined him to reside in Paris, thinks it  
 “ proper to inform them, that being ap-  
 “ prised before-hand of the march of the  
 “ National Militia of Paris, and of their  
 “ desire of obtaining from his Majesty the  
 “ honour of being his guard, it would have  
 “ been easy for the King to have removed  
 “ from Versailles to any other place besides  
 “ Paris ; but his Majesty fearing that such  
 “ a determination on his part might be the  
 “ cause



“ cause of great commotion, and relying  
“ upon the affection which he has a right to  
“ expect from all his subjects indifferently,  
“ nately, he is come with confidence to  
“ live in the Capital, where he has received  
“ the most respectful demonstrations  
“ of love and allegiance from the inhabitants  
“ of his good City of Paris. He is  
“ certain that they will never attempt to  
“ *restrain in any shape the determination*  
“ *of their Sovereign*, and it is in the midst  
“ of them that he announces to all the inhabitants  
“ of his Provinces, that, when  
“ the National Assembly shall have finished  
“ the great work of the restoration of public  
“ happiness, the King will put into execution  
“ the plan he has long had in contemplation  
“ of visiting his Provinces without any parade,  
“ in order to make himself more particularly acquainted  
“ with the good he may do them, and to prove  
“ to them, in the warmth of his heart, that  
“ they are all equally dear to him. He anticipates  
“ in hope his being received by them with marks  
“ of affection and confidence, which will ever be  
“ the object of his wishes and the real source  
“ of his happiness. The King also flatters himself  
“ that

“ that this declaration on his part will en-  
 “ gage all the inhabitants of his Provinces  
 “ to second by their encouragement the la-  
 “ bours of the National Assembly, so that,  
 “ under the shelter of a happy Constitution,  
 “ France may soon enjoy those days of  
 “ peace and of tranquillity which she has  
 “ long been deprived of by an unfortunate  
 “ division.”

From the time that the King had left Ver-  
 sailles, the National Assembly, having re-  
 mained behind, continued coolly discussing  
 some constitutional articles. They doubt-  
 less thought that they were keeping their  
 dignity up *to the height of circumstances*\*,  
 by affecting to consider with the most pro-  
 found indifference all the outrages they had  
 just been witnesses of. But their discussions  
 were frequently interrupted by complaints  
 of insults and menaces directed for some  
 days past against a great number of the De-  
 puties. Many of them, little encouraged  
 by the Decree which had declared their per-  
 sons inviolable, withdrew themselves, and

\* *A la hauteur des circonstances*—A Revolutionary ex-  
 pression.

in the space of two days the President had been obliged to give passports to about three hundred of his colleagues, among whom were the Bishop of *Langres*, *M. de Lally*, and *M. Mounier*. The Assembly, alarmed at the multiplicity of these desertions, put a stop to them, by decreeing, that in future no passport should be granted to any of the members but upon grounds stated to and approved by the Assembly.

There is no doubt but at this time the Factious employed all the means they could derive from circumstances, to alarm and remove, by threats of personal danger, all those whose talents and influence were likely to embarrass them. It would nevertheless be a very great mistake to suppose that all the Deputies who retired were induced by motives of fear. Those whom I have named cannot certainly be accounted in this class. The Bishop of *Langres* being on the 5th of October in the King's Chamber, where he passed the whole day, said very animatedly to the Archbishop of *Aix*, before the Archbishop of *Rheims* and the Bishop of *Laon*: "Now more than ever are we bound to remain in our place, to show our courage."—"If the King goes, I go, if  
he

he remains, I remain," replied the Archbishop of *Aix*: "wherever he is we ought to be—we have no force to defend him, but we do our duty." On the same day *Mounier* displayed the greatest courage, and *M. de Lally*, more injured than they, still preserved too much popularity to give room to the factious to flatter themselves that they could frighten him. But they were all as disgusted as discouraged at seeing the factious triumph so completely, and compel the King not only to sanction the new constitutional principles, but to fix his residence at Paris. They could no longer hope to persuade the Assembly to return to the system of two houses, which from the beginning they had adopted as the most proper to render a Monarchical Revolution, which they saw approaching, and which, perhaps, they were too hasty in judging inevitable. They doubtless likewise foresaw the fatal consequences of the outrages of the 6th of October; and convinced that they should labour in vain to prevent them, they chose to resign their places, and withdraw from the state of inability and inutility to which they saw themselves reduced.

The retreat of nearly half of the Bishops ought much less to be attributed to fear than to indignation, to the conviction that all was lost, and the embarrassment that would naturally be produced by such criminal violence, among men whose situation, and the habits of tranquil life rendered them strangers to civil commotions. Amidst this struggle of different factions they saw no post tenable; and as they despaired of all the efforts they could make, they did not think that they failed in their duty by not attempting a useless defence. Their support was still given to the writings and speeches of the defenders of the Clergy.

I am very far from blaming the motives of the Deputies who withdrew themselves at this period. Without a doubt they were very pure and very laudable; yet it is but too true that the consequences of their withdrawing were disastrous. How many unjust and atrocious Decrees might we not cite, which passed by a very small majority, and which their votes would have prevented! If there had been sufficient unanimity in the Order of the Clergy, and in that of the Nobility, to have induced one or both of  
of

of them to have retired altogether in a body, their retreat might have been of the most important service; it would have annulled all the Acts of that Assembly of usurpers, and rendered its dissolution inevitable; whereas a partial desertion of worthy men from all the Orders could but ensure a majority to the factious, and triumph to villains. In general, in those great political commotions from which the State is in danger, no man called by circumstances or his duty into any office whatever, can leave it with honour, and without failing in what he owes to his country; it is there, and there only, that it has need of his service; and if he deserts his post he renders himself answerable not only for the loss of all the good he could have done in it, but for all the evil which he might have prevented.

The fear of seeing the National Assembly transferred to Paris not only made a great number of its members uneasy, but the citizens of Versailles also began to be alarmed at it; they who two days before had rendered that event inevitable, by the crimes for which they had given the signal, and of which they had set the example to the brigands of Paris! What indignation must it

not have excited to hear the Municipality of that guilty town expressing at the bar of the Assembly “ *the sorrow of its inhabitants for the loss they had experienced, and for that with which they were threatened ! supplicating the Assembly not to desert Versailles, but to be the interpreters of their love to the King, and of their wishes for his Majesty’s return to a town which had been for two centuries the cradle and the residence of their Kings \**.” The President politely replied to this speech, that the Assembly would take the regrets and request of the inhabitants of Versailles into consideration. On the next day, however, they received the letter in which the King informed them of his determination to fix his residence at Paris, and it was resolved that they should remove thither as soon as the Commissioners whom they appointed should have chosen and prepared a proper place.

\* The residence of our Kings had rendered the marshy and unwholesome hamlet of Versailles one of the most considerable towns of the Kingdom. Its best houses had been built by the providers or the pensioners of the Court, and all the inhabitants owed their ease to its favours, or to the advantages arising from its residence.

The

The deliberations of the Assembly were constantly interrupted by fresh complaints of threats received by the Deputies, and by motions for renewing the decree which had declared them inviolable, for securing the freedom of the votes, and the like. In order to divert the disputes, reproaches, and mutual charges which this debate gave rise to among the different parties, *Mirabeau* had the effrontery to advance, that the secret blows given to the Assembly proceeded from a higher quarter: "It is publicly known (said he) that a Minister, and that Minister is *M. de St. Priest*, said to the phalanx of women who were crying for bread, *When you had but one King you were not in want of bread; now that you have twelve hundred, go and apply to them.*" He moved that the Committee of Reports be charged to inquire into this fact. *M. de St. Priest*, however, refuted the accusation, by the most formal contradiction, in a letter which he wrote the same day to the Chairman of the Committee, and *Mirabeau's* denunciation was taken no farther notice of.

At the same Sitting a Deputation of the

M 3

Represen-



Representatives of the Commune of Paris went and expressed to the Assembly their extreme joy at the resolution which they had taken of removing their Sitzings to the Capital; adding "the assurance of the  
" most profound respect of all the inhabi-  
" tants of Paris for the decrees of the As-  
" sembly, and an inviolable promise of tak-  
" ing every means of ensuring the tranquil-  
" lity and freedom of their deliberations,  
" and of warranting the personal inviolabi-  
" lity of every one of the members." These promises in some measure quieted the apprehensions of those who were alarmed for their safety; and it was decreed in the following Sitting, that the Assembly should remove on Monday the 19th of October, and continue their meetings, *pro tempore*, at the Palace belonging to the Archbishop of *Paris*, till the place where they were to be permanently established was prepared for their reception.

Tranquillity seemed to be restored in the Capital, when some expressions arising from the Queen's goodness, misunderstood, or misinterpreted to the people, occasioned a seditious commotion, in consequence of which

the Repository for Pledges\* very narrowly escaped being pillaged. The Fishwomen of Paris, emboldened by the gracious manner with which the Queen had received them, applied to her Majesty to obtain by her interference a free return of all the things pledged at the Repository for a sum under four-and-twenty livres. Though to this request the Queen had only answered by general expressions of good-will, her answer was considered as a positive promise: it was even announced, that all who had such effects in the Repository would receive them on producing cards or tickets sealed, which were to be distributed among them. The eagerness to obtain these tickets attracted the very next day about the Thuilleries an immense mob, whom it was with much difficulty the Guards prevented from entering the Palace, by assuring them that the tickets they were calling loudly for were not to be given there. It was then spread about, that the distribution of them was made at the Dis-

\* The Repository for Pledges, *Mont-de-Piété*, was an establishment instituted by the Government to prevent the ruinous practice and usury of pawnbrokers. Pledges were received, a third of the real value lent, and the interest was very moderate.

tricts ; whither the crowd immediately ran. The Commissioners of the Districts, not comprehending what was meant by this demand of tickets, and not being authorised to give any, sent them all away very much dissatisfied. Their murmurs were soon followed by noises and violent threats against the Repository ; and if a strong guard had not been immediately sent to defend it, it would infallibly have been pillaged or burnt.

The King was, nevertheless, desirous to realize, as far as the exigencies of the State would suffer him, the hopes which the Queen's expression might have raised : he ordered an account to be laid before him of what the free return of all the effects pledged at the Repository for less than twenty-four livres would amount to ; and finding that the expence would be more than three millions, he caused a proclamation to be issued, expressing, in the most affecting manner, his Majesty's regret at not being able to extend as far as he could with the comfort of the most indigent class of the Capital. This proclamation announced, at the same time, the free return of all winter clothes and linen pledged for sums under twenty-four livres. The King took the sum required for  
this

this act of charity, which was considerable, from his own private purse.

The inquiries commenced concerning the instigators of the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, and what transpired from some depositions received by the Commissioners of the Châtelet appointed to conduct the proceedings, soon fixed the public attention. The witnesses examined spoke openly of the contents of their depositions; from which it appeared, that the insurrection of the 5th of October had been secretly directed by leaders who were pointed out, and had been encouraged by distributions of money and brandy, which was imputed to a faction: the Duke of *Orleans* was named, and several Members of the Assembly with him. Violent motions were made against him every day, even in the *Palais-Royal*, which the people talked of burning; and also of punishing the Duke of *Orleans* as a traitor, who had only taken the mask of patriotism to deceive the Nation, and to make them the instrument of his ambitious projects.

At the same time he was extolled by several revolutionary journalists, who, labouring

ing to divert the agitation of the people into a contrary channel, were daily denouncing new plots of their own invention, anti-patriotic enrolments, pretended collections of arms made by the Aristocrats, and the like. The various commotions produced by these suspicions and agitations were preparing the way for a new explosion, the issue of which the presence of the Duke of *Orleans*, his riches, the talents of his Counsellors, and the villainy of his agents, might have rendered doubtful. *M. de la Fayette* was so much alarmed as to propose removing the Duke, as a measure indispensable for the restoration of public tranquillity, and even for the safety of the Royal Family, and undertook to persuade him to leave the kingdom: to do which it was only necessary to frighten him, and nothing was easier. This negotiation did not take up much time, and the particulars of it are still unknown: the promise given to the Duke of *Orleans*, that they should be kept secret, has been held sacred, and *M. de la Fayette* is the only person now who can tell the whole; a part was told by *Mirabeau*, at the time that the report was made to the Assembly of the proceedings

ceedings at the Chatelet against the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October.

“ I learn from public report, (said he)  
 “ that after a conversation between *M.*  
 “ *d'Orleans* and *M. de la Fayette*, very  
 “ imperious on one side, and very resigned  
 “ on the other, the former has accepted a  
 “ mission, or rather has received orders to  
 “ go to England. I instantly foresaw the  
 “ consequences of such a step. To make  
 “ the friends of liberty uneasy, to spread  
 “ clouds over the principles of the Revolution,  
 “ to furnish a new pretext to the discontented,  
 “ to seclude the King more and more,  
 “ and to sow both [at home and abroad  
 “ fresh seeds of distrust, are the effects  
 “ which this precipitate departure, which  
 “ this condemnation without accusation  
 “ must produce. Above all, it leaves  
 “ without a rival the man, whom the fortune  
 “ of events has raised to a new Dictatorship;  
 “ the man who at this moment is adjusting  
 “ in the bosom of liberty a Police more  
 “ expeditious than that of the old system;  
 “ the man who by that Police has just  
 “ received a body of accusation without  
 “ accusing; the man who by insisting on  
 “ *M. d'Orleans'* departure, instead of im-  
 “ peaching

“peaching him if he were guilty, had en-  
“croached upon the inviolability of the  
“Members of the Assembly. My resolu-  
“tion was taken immediately; and I told  
“*M. de Biron*, with whom I never had  
“any political connection, though I have  
“ever greatly esteemed him, and from  
“whom I have several times received  
“friendly services, that *M. d’Orleans* was  
“unthinkingly about to leave the post which  
“his Constituents had confided to him;  
“that, if he did, I should denounce and  
“oppose his departure; if he remained,  
“and discovered the invisible hand that at-  
“tempted to remove him, I would de-  
“nounce the authority that superseded that  
“of the laws: let him take which of these  
“alternatives he pleased. *M. de Biron*  
“answered me with high-flown sentiments,  
“such as I expected; and *M. d’Orleans*,  
“on being made acquainted with my deter-  
“mination, promised to follow my advice;  
“but the very next day, while I was in the  
“Assembly, I received a note from *M. de*  
“*Biron*, which informed me of the Duke’s  
“departure. I confess, that in a transport  
“of indignation I made use of an expres-  
“sion, which the reporter should have made  
“known,

“ known, to take the liberty of taxing it  
 “ with indiscretion, and which I think  
 “ myself was insolent.”

This expression was the same that Doctor *Fiffe*, the 55th witness, declared in his deposition was used by *Mirabeau* in the Assembly, to the persons about him, when he showed them the letter informing him of the departure of the Duke of *Orleans*: “ There,  
 “ read ! (said he.) He is a dastardly var-  
 “ let ; a dirty scoundrel, that does not de-  
 “ serve the trouble that has been taken for  
 “ him.” The same witness also declared in his deposition, “ That the Duke of *Orleans*  
 “ being determined to go over to England,  
 “ *Mirabeau*, to divert him from his purpose,  
 “ had told him that there were only suspi-  
 “ cions against him ; that on this observa-  
 “ tion, the Duke of *Orleans* had resolved  
 “ not to go ; that *Mirabeau* had agreed  
 “ with him to denounce him ; and that on  
 “ the day appointed for that purpose he  
 “ had received a letter from the Duke of  
 “ *Orleans*, consisting of these words : *I*  
 “ *have changed my opinion ; do nothing ;*  
 “ *we will meet to-night.*”

For want of the light which *M. de la*  
*Fayette*



*Fayette* might throw upon this circumstance, we are under the necessity of searching for the truth in *Mirabeau's* account, corrected by the deposition I have quoted. The promise made by *Mirabeau* to the Duke of *Orleans*, to denounce him to the Assembly, is very easily explained. It would have been the part of a real friend to have denounced him before the proceedings were more advanced; it would have been bringing on his trial at a time when there only existed suspicions against him, and when consequently the impossibility of condemning him would have effected his acquittal. It is certain, at least, that this hope made sufficient impression upon the Duke of *Orleans* to make him hesitate whether he should keep his word of going to England or not. Then it was, no doubt, that *M. de la Fayette* assumed towards him the imperious and menacing tone. He even strengthened his menaces with a step the most likely to convince him of their being very serious. On the 13th of October he sent an Officer of the National Guard to Versailles, commissioned to demand of the Assembly, on his part, a decree, declaring, that [no place

place was privileged for persons guilty of the crime of treason against the Nation ; and the Assembly had immediately decreed, that State Criminals might be arrested in any place wherever they were to be found. The Duke of *Orleans* being frightened no longer hesitated ; and the next day, at the opening of the Sitting, the President announced that the Duke demanded a passport for England, whither he was going on a mission of a very urgent nature. This demand was accompanied by a letter from *M. de Montmorin*, informing the President that the instructions to be given to the Duke of *Orleans* were preparing with great haste. It is more than probable, that to obtain and reward this condescension, *M. de la Fayette* engaged to say nothing, in his deposition at the Chatelet, which could expose the Duke : if it were so, it was promising to take a false oath, and *M. de la Fayette* kept this promise most scrupulously ; he swore in the face of justice that he spoke all he knew, and his deposition is one of the most insignificant in the whole proceedings.

The last Sittings held by the Assembly at Versailles were employed in discussing and  
decreeing

decreeing some Constitutional Articles ; and particularly that by which the title of *King of France and Navarre* was abolished, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Deputies of Navarre : *King of the French was judged less despotic, more conformable to the unity of the Monarchy, and more proper to recall to the minds of Kings, that they are the chiefs of men, and not the owners and masters of the land.* In this manner it was, that in this Assembly of the *Lycurguses* of a day, round sonorous phrases were always enough to ensure the success of the most extravagant innovations. In fact, if there could be a supposition more absurd than that of a King the master of any country whatever, without being the chief obeyed by all those who inhabit it, it would be that of a Kingdom, the King of which, sufficiently powerful to compel the obedience of all his subjects, was not the master of the country. What means would the King have in the first case for preserving, for a single instant, the sovereignty over the country ? and in the second, who would be able, or who would dare to dispute it with him ? Alas ! there was nothing more remaining for

*Louis*

*Louis XVI.* than the empty title of King of France, when the Assembly stripped him of it to substitute that of *King of the French*, which was no less empty. The French no longer obeyed him, and the whole of France, not even excepting the patrimonial domains of the Royal Family, was about to become the property of the Nation.

## CHAPTER XIX.

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*The King obliged to dismiss the Gardes-du-Corps—The Assembly remove to Paris—A Baker hanged by the People, and his Head placed on a Pike—Martial Law decreed—Denunciations against the Ministers—The Assembly send for the Keeper of the Seals—Memorial of the Ministers addressed to the Assembly—Debate on the Property of the Clergy, which is decreed to be at the Disposal of the Nation—Assemblies of the Nobility in several Provinces; the Advantage that might be made of them—The Conduct of the Assembly on the Occasion—The Assembly suspend all the Parliaments of the Kingdom—The Conduct of the Courts of Vacations*

*tions—Weakness of the Ministry—Mandate of the Bishop of Tréguier—The States of Cambresis recall their Deputies to the Assembly, and annul their Powers—The Assembly declare that Proceeding void.*

THE ancient Palace of the Thuilleries, which had been uninhabited since the minority of *Louis XV.* was not fitted to any of those enjoyments of luxury, pleasure, and convenience, which habit renders a want, and which the King was accustomed to find in all the other Royal seats. But *Louis XVI.* thought nothing of the loss of his personal enjoyments, in the hope that his presence would restore order to the Capital; where he was hardly arrived, when the Parisians were barbarous enough to wring from him a much more painful sacrifice. His brave *Gardes-du-Corps*, whose fidelity and heroic devotion had been lately so wonderfully displayed, excited the jealousy of the Parisians; who ought to have experienced no other sentiment in respect of them, than an anxiety to repair the unheard of cruelties and numberless outrages committed upon those worthy and loyal Knights. Not satisf-

fied with seeing the French Guards re-instated in all the posts occupied by them before their defection, the people insisted that the duty performed by the *Gardes-du-Corps* within the Palace, about the King and his family, should be taken by the National Guard; to which his Majesty was forced to consent.

Paris remained tranquil for the first fortnight after the King's arrival. On Monday the 19th of October the Assembly proceeded to business in the Capital. The first day passed in deputations and harangues to the King, and from the Municipality to the Assembly. But next morning new mobs collected about the doors of the bakers. One of these, falsely accused of concealing his bread, by a woman who could not procure any, was conducted to the *Hotel-de-Ville* by the National Guard. The Representatives of the Commune, having taken the depositions of his neighbours, and of the Deputies of his District, who all attested that since the Revolution he had rendered the greatest services to his quarter, by baking ten batches of bread in a day, used every effort to calm the people, and to convince them of the baker's innocence, but were only answered with

with shouts of fury and the most violent threats. One of the Representatives was seized by the collar by those furies, and detained as a hostage in a corner of the Hall. He was told that his head should answer for the escape of the accused person. The storm increased, from the immense crowd which the National Guard had suffered to enter the *Hotel-de-Ville* without the slightest resistance. Still the Committee of Police made a last effort to save this unfortunate baker; proposing to examine him in the great Hall, in the presence of the people, who should pronounce his fate after having heard him. But the people did not want to judge, they wanted to cut the throat of their victim, and did cut his throat; for I heard from an eye-witness, that this baker, who was certainly carried to the lantern merely *through form*, was not dead when his head was cut off, to place it according to custom on a pike, and carry it through the streets in triumph. The wife of this unfortunate man, who was at the time three months advanced in pregnancy, running up to his assistance, saw the bloody head of her husband, and, at the sight of the horrible trophy, fell

N 3

breathless,



breathless, as if she had been struck with lightning.

A Deputation of the Representatives of the Commune went immediately to the Assembly, to give an account of this event. The mournful complaints and avowals contained in the recital of those Deputies would prove, if it were needful, that it is much easier to usurp the supreme power than to exercise it\*. It is an instrument for which all hands are not fit; force is enough to take hold of it and raise it, but it requires ability, wisdom, and long use, to handle it properly,

It was on this occasion, and at the same Sitting, that martial law was decreed against mobs, in spite of the opposition of *Robespierre*, who thought this step too violent, and wished wise measures to be taken in order to discover the source of the evil,

\* “ We have been threatened and struck by women ;  
“ our heads were made to answer for that of the baker.  
“ We come to implore your assistance ; we are without  
“ force, and without provisions. We beseech you, in  
“ the name of humanity, to aid us, and decree martial  
“ law. Must we tell it, Gentlemen ? our soldiers fell  
“ back ! our soldiers deserted us ! We pray you to pro-  
“ vide for the subsistence of the Capital.”

*Speech of the Deputation of the Commune.*

“ To

“ To disconcert (added he) the conspiracy,  
 “ which perhaps at the moment I am speak-  
 “ ing leaves us no alternative but to sacri-  
 “ fice ourselves brilliantly. It is necessary  
 “ to appoint a tribunal truly National—it is  
 “ necessary to hear the Committee of Re-  
 “ ports—to hear the Committee of Inquiry  
 “ —to discover the conspiracy—to stifle the  
 “ conspiracy.” *M. de Cazalès* stopped  
 him, by calling upon him to explain his  
 notions respecting a conspiracy, or of being  
 held criminal towards the Nation and to-  
 wards the Assembly.

Justice for a moment resumed her course :  
 the baker's murderer was arrested the same  
 day, condemned to death, and executed next  
 morning with another villain convicted of  
 having distributed hand-bills exciting an  
 insurrection.

The Royal Family were deeply affected  
 to find these excesses of popular fury, these  
 bloody scenes, so suddenly renewed, and al-  
 most before their eyes. The King and  
 Queen immediately sent to the baker's  
 widow, to inform her how much they felt  
 for her misfortune. Their Majesties charged  
 the Duke *de Liancourt* to go and assure her  
 of their protection, and to give her for them

a sum of two thousand crowns, to assist her in carrying on her business. The Commune also deputed some of their Members to go and console her, and offer her assistance: but the unfortunate young woman, a widow in the spring of life, and dying herself with despair, asked, as the only favour, that the last duties might be paid to the sad remains of her husband. He was buried honourably, and several Members of the Commune attended his funeral.

The National Assembly in changing their place of meeting did not change their plan. At Paris as at Versailles they continued to accuse the Executive Power, and the negligence or perfidy of its agents, of all the troubles and calamities that afflicted France. In the very second Sitting at the Capital, they called for the Keeper of the Seals to give an account of his conduct, and particularly of the motives for his delays in the dispersion and publication of the decrees of the Assembly.

The next day they decreed, that the Ministers should declare positively what were the means and the resources which the National Assembly could furnish them with, to enable them to secure subsistence for the Kingdom, and particularly for the Capital; so that the  
Assembly,

Assembly, on doing all that was in their power for that purpose, might depend upon the laws being executed, or render the Ministers and other agents of Administration responsible for the neglect of them. This decree was passed at the same Sitting in which the Keeper of the Seals had been heard, and had given the most satisfactory account of his conduct and of that of his colleagues, of their zeal, and of the purity of their intentions.

The Ministers did not fall into the snare that was laid for them by this Decree; and their answer so much embarrassed their antagonists, that after hearing it read no one rose to reply to it: and the Assembly not knowing how to act, adjourned; after they had resolved, however, that the Ministers' Memorial should not be printed.

This Memorial contained a faithful report of the efforts which the King had never ceased making to secure supplies of provision for the Capital; of the resources that might be expected from the neighbouring provinces and from abroad; of the measures taken to prevent exportation; of the means used to encourage the interior circulation; of the obstacles raised to it by the  
opposition

opposition of the provinces, towns, and villages, in spite of the decrees of the National Assembly, *which had not yet acquired the ascendant which, no doubt, they would acquire in time.* “The difficulties which  
“obstruct their execution,” observed the Ministers, “arise from the disobedience of  
“the persons employed, from the tribu-  
“nals being discouraged and disgusted, and  
“from the abuse of the liberty of the press;  
“the Committees, Districts, and National  
“Guard, all present a picture of division,  
“Peace is every where sought in vain; sub-  
“ordination, which ensures it, is no where  
“to be found.—Who could point out what  
“it would be necessary to do, so that the  
“responsibility demanded, and the security  
“on the part of the Ministers, would not  
“be the height of imprudence?—We de-  
“clare to you that we enter into no such  
“engagement; that if you persist in re-  
“quiring it in the name of the Nation, we  
“shall resign our places to men who may  
“be rash enough to encounter without ap-  
“prehension the hazard of circumstances,  
“—It would be necessary to be called to  
“deliberate among you, or at least in con-  
“ference with some of your Members,  
“upon

“ upon the questions that have occupied  
 “ you for some months; it would be also  
 “ necessary to banish all distrust; it would  
 “ be necessary to have a confidence found-  
 “ ed on esteem. If other persons have the  
 “ means which we have not, point them  
 “ out to us and we will meet them. It re-  
 “ quires more courage to keep such places  
 “ than to resign them.”

Such was, thus early, the insignificant  
 and wretched part which the King's Mini-  
 sters were reduced to play. Denounced, ac-  
 cused, and sent for on every question, they  
 spent their time in detecting impostures.—  
 Mr. *Necker* himself could only groan and  
 sink visibly into nothing, while the Assem-  
 bly pursued as rapidly as audaciously their  
 system of destruction and usurpation. Before  
 they left Versailles they had opened the debate  
 relative to the possessions of the Clergy,  
 “ the property of which (according to the  
 Bishop of *Autun's* motion \*) “ ought to be  
 “ declared to belong to the Nation, provid-  
 “ ing, nevertheless, in a proper manner for  
 “ the decency of worship, the maintenance  
 “ of the Ministers of the Gospel, and the

\* In the Sitting of the 10th of October.

“ relief

“relief of the Poor.” The law of the strongest being the only one that could be applied to for the support of a motion so contrary to all the principles and laws of every country; they who brought this question forward judged it would be important to delay the decision of it till the time came when their arguments might be seconded by the manœuvres of the stock-jobbers, by the vociferations and menaces of the brigands of the Capital, and even by the proximity of the fatal lantern. For this purpose this important discussion, which was entered upon in the Sitting of the 12th of October, on a motion of *Mirabeau*’s tending to establish the principles contained in that of the Bishop of *Autun*, was interrupted by other motions, or by debates on some constitutional points, and was not resumed at Paris till the 23d of the same month. The rights of the Clergy, defended eloquently, logically, and learnedly, by the Archbishop of *Aix* and the Abbé *Maury*, were attacked only with sophisms, declamations, or gross jests on monks and nuns; but the Nation, that is to say, the chosen brigands, with whom care had been taken to fill the galleries and avenues of the Hall, pleading and voting  
after

after their fashion for the plunder of the Clergy, it was decreed by the following Act:—

“ The National Assembly decree, 1st, That  
 “ all Ecclesiastical Property is at the disposal  
 “ of the Nation, but charged with providing,  
 “ in a proper manner, for the expenses of Divine  
 “ Worship, the maintenance of its Ministers, and the relief  
 “ of the Poor, under the inspection and according  
 “ to the instructions of the Provinces.

“ 2dly, That in the disposition to be  
 “ made for supplying the Ministers of Religion,  
 “ the sums to be settled on Cures shall in no instance  
 “ be less than 1200 livres, exclusive of the house  
 “ and garden appendant\*.”

The

\* This Decree, on which the votes were counted, passed by 568 against 346: there were 40 votes null. If the 246 members who were absent from this Sitting had attended, and voted against the Decree, it would have been rejected by 592 voices against 568. Persons fond of the ridiculous, remarked that it was on LE JOUR DES MORTS, (*All Souls day*) Nov. 2, 1789, on the motion of a prelate (the Bishop d'Autun), while the Clergy's Counsel (*Camus*) was President, and in the Hall of the



The intervals in the discussion of this grand business seasonably managed to weaken the impressions that might have been left by the speeches favourable to the Clergy, were filled up with denunciations of insurrections on account of the want of provisions, with some Decrees of constitutional articles, and with debates that took place on the conduct of the Nobility in some Provinces ; a conduct at which the Assembly were greatly alarmed : and it was not without reason, for they and the Revolution would have been annihilated in less than a month, if they had not taken the promptest measures to prevent the conduct of those Provinces from being followed by the others. This circumstance is too important to be passed over without some notice of the leading points.

The Nation did not look upon the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October as phlegmatically as their Representatives did. They had excited the most general indignation, and cries of vengeance were heard in

the Archbishop of *Paris's* Palace, that the National Assembly had declared, that all the property of the Clergy was at the disposal of the Nation.

every

every part of the Kingdom. The intermediate Commission of Dauphiné had convoked the States of that Province. The Nobility of Britany had assembled at St. Malo : those of Languedoc at Toulouse. In this last town ninety Gentlemen and eighty Members of the Parliament assembled, and entered into a Resolution, of which the following is the substance :

“ The Nobility of Languedoc, deeply  
 “ afflicted at the misfortunes of the State,  
 “ and at the outrage committed against the  
 “ sacred person of the King, are bound to  
 “ take a firm and prudent part to re-esta-  
 “ blish peace, and restore tranquillity to  
 “ the most virtuous and most unfortunate  
 “ of Kings. The Nobility publicly dis-  
 “ avow the transactions entered into by  
 “ their Representatives. They consider it  
 “ as a most urgent duty to engage the other  
 “ Orders to assemble, in order to restore to  
 “ Religion its influence, to the Laws their  
 “ force and energy, to the Monarch his law-  
 “ ful authority, and, for they dare to say  
 “ it, his liberty ! The Assembly have in  
 “ consequence charged four Commissioners  
 “ to communicate the present Resolution to  
 “ the

“ the Clergy and Municipal Officers, and  
“ to invite them to convoke the Assemblies  
“ of their respective Orders.”

These Assemblies were certainly contrary to the ordinances of the Kingdom, and to the Decrees of the National Assembly ; but they were so evidently authorised, and even commanded, by the supreme law of the safety of the State, that there remained at that period no other means of saving the Monarchy and the King. In fact, there is no doubt, if the Bailiwick Assemblies of the three Orders had been able to assemble at the same time throughout the Kingdom, that they would have voted, either unanimously or by an immense majority, for the revocation of those faithless Deputies, who had so rashly violated their instructions only to overthrow or usurp every thing. But unfortunately this simultaneous assembling could not be effected without the King's interference ; and his Majesty had no Minister about him faithful enough, or who possessed sufficient energy to think of or attempt executing such a measure. It was more particularly Mr. *Necker's* duty : it was what he ought to have proposed on the horrid morning of the 6th of  
of

of October, when he was only remarked in the Council Chamber by his deep sighs, and his profound and sterile reverie. What consolation, what confidence, what hope would it not have given to the Royal Family, if, at the moment of the reconciliation of the *Gardes-du-Corps* with the People, he had said to the King: “ Sire, all is safe. “ Let us bless Providence, who seems to “ have permitted so many crimes, in order “ to point out and render lawful and infal- “ lible the only measure which can prevent “ new dangers from attending the State and “ yourself. The clamours which call you “ to Paris do not express the wishes of the “ People, but of the Factious; be careful “ not to yield to them. I will immediately “ go myself and declare to the People, who “ are misled, but who love you and have “ confidence in me, that after a night of “ such agitation your Majesty has need of “ rest. I will promise in your name, that “ you will honour the Capital with your “ presence as soon as tranquillity is esta- “ blished there, and I dare answer that this “ promise will suffice. It will not, how- “ ever, prevent your Majesty from setting  
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“ out to-morrow for Compiègne, and re-  
“ moving the National Assembly to Soif-  
“ fons. In the morning I will take your  
“ Majesty’s orders for a new convocation of  
“ the Assemblies of the Bailiwicks, who  
“ ought to be informed not only of the ex-  
“ ceptable outrages that have been just com-  
“ mitted, but of the imminent danger with  
“ which the whole State is threatened. The  
“ circulation of these orders, and the ap-  
“ pointment of the days on which those  
“ Assemblies shall be held in the different  
“ Provinces, the Bailiwicks of Paris and  
“ Versailles excepted, shall be so managed,  
“ that the news cannot be received in Paris  
“ till the résolutions taken accompany it.—  
“ They will be unanimous, do not doubt it,  
“ Sire. The Nation, exasperated, will not  
“ leave to the authors of so many disasters  
“ the power of prolonging them, and car-  
“ rying them to farther excesses, but will  
“ recall their treacherous Deputies, will pe-  
“ tition you to dissolve so imprudent and so  
“ criminal an Assembly, and, relying with  
“ full confidence on your wisdom, goodness  
“ and love, will desire to owe their happi-  
“ ness and liberty alone to you.”

This is what Mr. *Necker* ought to have said and done, if he had been, I will not say a great man, but a Minister worthy of any esteem, and *all would have been saved*. But in this circumstance, as in every other that required a little energy, he was the most vacant and insignificant of men.

The King's residence at Paris rendered the measure I have been speaking of infinitely less practicable. Nevertheless, the Assembly, who perceived all the danger of it, neglected nothing to prevent it;—consequently, in the Decree which they passed on the 26th of October relative to the Assemblies of the Nobility of Britany and Languedoc, and the convocation of the States of Dauphiné, they declared, “ That  
 “ no Convocation or Assembly by ORDER  
 “ should take place in the Kingdom; that  
 “ the Assemblies of the Bailiwicks, and  
 “ those within the jurisdictions of the *Seneschals* should in future be convened  
 “ singly, and without distinction of the ranks;  
 “ and that all convocations of Provinces  
 “ and States should be postponed until the  
 “ Assembly should have determined, with  
 O 2 “ the

“ the King’s assent, the mode of their  
“ convocation.” In order to secure the execution of this Decree, the Assembly laboured from that moment, with the greatest activity, to put an end to the old division of the Kingdom into Provinces, Jurisdictions, Bailiwicks, &c. under pretence of its being founded on the distinctions of the Orders, and that it did not accord with the New Constitution. All France was divided into Departments, Districts, Municipalities, &c. and in the settling of their respective bounds, the Assembly avoided with a puerile affectation, all respect to the limits of the ancient divisions wherever they were not forced to it by the chains of mountains, or courses of rivers \*.

As the immediate consequence of this new division was to be the organization of Assemblies for Departments, Municipalities, &c. it appeared important to obviate the chief obstacles that might obstruct their establishment, and especially to prevent the

\* The number of the Departments was not finally settled till the 26th of February 1790, when it was fixed at eight, -three,

resistance of the Parliaments. The suppression of those bodies of the Magistracy, which had been long announced, only depended for its completion on a final Decree relative to the new judicial arrangement ; but as a lingering death might be attended with troublesome convulsions, *Alexander de Lameth*, always fruitful in Revolutionary resources, proposed to *bury them all alive*, that is to say, to suspend them till the new organization of the judicial authority. This idea was not absolutely unprecedented ; the Archbishop of *Sens* had also suspended the Parliaments, to prevent their injuring the organization of his great Bailiwicks ; but the Assembly had no occasion to suspend them, because they were suspended already ; all that could be done was to keep them in that situation till their total *extinction*, and this they did after a short hour's debate. They ordained by the same Decree, “ That the Courts of  
“ Vacations should continue their functions,  
“ and take cognizance of all causes, suits,  
“ and proceedings, notwithstanding any  
“ law or regulation to the contrary, until it  
“ should be otherwise enacted in this re-  
“ spect ; and that all the other Courts should



“ continue to administer justice in the usual  
“ manner.”

It appears by the date of this Decree (the 3d of November) that in the space of two days the ancient power of the Parliaments, and the much more ancient property of the Clergy of France fell beneath the sweeping scythe of the National Assembly. The haste of the Keeper of the Seals to sanction these two Decrees, and to send the latter by extraordinary messengers to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, excited general astonishment; and in fact it must be allowed, that the resignation with which the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, at the head of the Magistracy, submitted to the degradation of his Department, and to the annihilation of all ecclesiastical property, was more prompt than was naturally to be expected.—The Courts of the Vacations did not carry their patriotism quite so far. That of Paris, governed at hand by circumstances, and situated amidst the brigands, and the lanterns which were *organized for civic vengeance*, could not but register the Decree in silence: but that of Rouen, and almost all the others of the Kingdom, accompanied the enrolment with protests

tests more or less energetic, and all replete with testimonies of their loyalty to the King. That of Rouen, in their resolution of provisional-enrolment, expressed themselves in this manner: “ Surely it is not at a mo-  
 “ ment when most of the citizens seem vo-  
 “ luntarily resigned to absolute blindness  
 “ that it can be seasonable to produce the  
 “ light. When the laws are every where at-  
 “ tacked, reviled, and disgraced, to attempt to  
 “ enforce their power would be evidently to  
 “ lay them open to new outrages. When the  
 “ first Monarch of the world, oppressed with  
 “ griefs as piercing as unmerited, deigns  
 “ to silence in his own bosom every other  
 “ sentiment but that of his inexhaustible  
 “ tenderness for his people; in short, when  
 “ we have seen this Monarch, worthy for  
 “ ever of the respect of all Nations, brav-  
 “ ing every danger, go to his Capital  
 “ to endeavour still by the example of  
 “ his virtues, and the affecting proofs of  
 “ his popularity, to reclaim his misled  
 “ subjects; true and loyal Magistrates can-  
 “ not but bless such goodness, and groan  
 “ in silence at the error of their fellow-  
 “ subjects.

“ On these considerations the Court of  
“ the Vacations have resolved to enrol pro-  
“ visionally the King’s Declaration of  
“ the 3d of this month. They neverthe-  
“ less declare, that in resolving upon this  
“ enrolment, they have done so only to  
“ give their Sovereign fresh proofs of their  
“ inviolable love, profound respect, and  
“ boundless submission ; and also, through  
“ the apprehension of obstructing his Ma-  
“ jesty’s views, and of increasing, by a just  
“ opposition, the dreadful troubles that  
“ rend the State ; but that in no case shall  
“ there be any precedent drawn from the  
“ said enrolment, in as much as the said  
“ Court have proceeded without liberty or  
“ sufficient title, and only compelled by the  
“ force of circumstances.

“ They resolve, moreover, that copies in  
“ form of the present Resolution shall be  
“ dispatched to the Keeper of the Seals, and  
“ to the Count *de St. Priest*, with a request  
“ that they would lay it before the King,  
“ and assure him that his Majesty cannot  
“ have more loyal subjects than the Ma-  
“ gistrates who compose the Court of the  
“ Vacations of his Parliament of Rouen ;  
“ that

“ that they only wish to live to respect  
 “ and to obey his lawful authority, as well  
 “ as the laws, the administration of which  
 “ he has confided to them ; and that they  
 “ would rather perish than authorise the  
 “ attempts that may be made against  
 “ them.”

The King was greatly affected by the sentiments expressed in this Resolution, and must have been still more so at finding himself reduced by his situation to the cruel necessity of annulling it, which indeed he could not dispense with ; but I most firmly believe, that the empire of this barbarous necessity was bounded there, and that not only the King's interest, but his dignity and his virtue, opposed his Ministers undertaking to be the denouncers of his loyal subjects to the National Assembly. Such, however, was the painful part taken by the Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* relative to the Magistrates of Normandy. He wrote on the 9th of November to the President of the Assembly, that the King, having been informed the day before of the Resolution of the Court of the Vacations of the Parliament of Rouen, thought he should not delay an instant in  
 tes-

testifying his disapprobation of that Resolution, and in giving proofs to the Nation of his Majesty's entire harmony with the National Assembly. To this letter was annexed a copy of the Decree of the Council, in which we read with grief, and scarcely believing our eyes—" that the King had  
" seen with as much surprise as displeasure,  
" a Decree which could only excite fermentation, mislead the minds of his loyal  
" subjects, and raise doubts of a harmony  
" on which the common happiness depended ; and that his Majesty, judging it  
" necessary to dissipate the alarms which  
" might be the consequence of such an act,  
" had annulled it, &c."

The Resolution of the Court of the Vacations was not annexed to the Decree of the Council, but the Keeper of the Seals gave it to an Usher whom the President sent to him for it. The Assembly judged that this official communication was sufficient to *substantiate the crime*, which they considered as an outrageous attack upon the sovereign power of the Nation. They decreed in consequence—" That this paper should  
" be sent to the Court provisionally empowered

“ powered to take cognizance of treason  
“ against the Nation, in order that the  
“ authors of the Resolution, whoever they  
“ were, might be arraigned ; and that  
“ the King should be entreated to appoint  
“ another Court of Vacations from among  
“ the other members of the Parliament of  
“ Rouen, for the purpose of enrolling the  
“ Decree of the 3d of November purely  
“ and simply.”

This Decree was passed, notwithstanding the lively impression and general emotion produced throughout the Assembly, by a speech replete with dignity and sensibility, made without preparation, by the President *de Frondeville* in behalf of his colleagues. The following passage of it was interrupted by his own emotions, and the reiterated plaudits of the Assembly :

“ Cast your looks on those ancient bodies :  
“ they saw a torrent of public spirit break-  
“ ing over the bounds which your wisdom  
“ would prescribe to it. It is in the midst  
“ of those disorders, amidst the general  
“ thoughtlessness, if I dare so to express  
“ myself, that they have caused their com-  
“ plaints

“ complaints to be heard. Is it not a cruelty to  
“ prevent him who suffers pain, from com-  
“ plaining? Must not the Magistrates  
“ whom you would prosecute be oppressed  
“ with sorrow, when they lose their dignity  
“ and their existence? It is their opinion,  
“ and not their disobedience, that you are  
“ going to punish; for they have obeyed  
“ your Decree, they have registered it. Ma-  
“ gistrates given up to the fury of the peo-  
“ ple, fugitives, expatriated, separated from  
“ their disconsolate families!—Alas! I may  
“ be pardoned for defending my brethren,  
“ with whom I have lived, and whose mis-  
“ fortunes I must share!”

On receiving the Decree of the Council,  
the Court of the Vacations resolved, that  
their Senior should write to the Keeper of the  
Seals, and beg him to assure the King, “ that  
“ in entering into a Resolution, in which they  
“ expressed their deep affliction for the mis-  
“ fortunes of the State, as well as their in-  
“ violable love for his Majesty’s person—  
“ a Resolution intended to be seen only by  
“ himself, and not to be made public—  
“ they neither could nor ought to be sus-  
“ pected

“ pected of having sought to excite any  
 “ fermentation, or of misleading the minds  
 “ of his loyal subjects, and still less to  
 “ raise doubts of the principles of the  
 “ King, or of his harmony with the As-  
 “ sembly.”

This explanation, which ought to have satisfied the Assembly, did not seem to make any impression upon them : they coldly sent the second Resolution of the Magistrates of Rouen to the Committee of Reports, and it was not till next day that they consented, at the King’s earnest solicitation, to pursue this affair no farther.

The Courts of Vacations which followed the example of that of Rouen were abolished, cited, and warned, with a disgusting arrogance. The Mandates of the Bishops were not treated with more indulgence than the Resolutions of the Courts of the Magistracy : that of the virtuous Bishop of *Treguier (le Mintier)* was sent to the Tribunal charged with the prosecution of treason against the Nation. That good Prelate, sharing the horror of all France on the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, had indeed gone so far as to say in his Mandate,



“ It is true, therefore, that the diadem is set  
“ with cruel points, which overflow the  
“ Throne of Kings with blood ; and that  
“ that Throne is shaken in the crisis  
“ brought on by furious libellers. Religion  
“ is annihilated, its Ministers are reduced  
“ to the sad condition of clerks appointed  
“ by brigands—the morals of the day con-  
“ sist in scepticism and selfish principles.  
“ It is wished that the obstinate disciple of  
“ *Moses*, the follower of Mahomet, and  
“ the licentious Atheist, should live upon a  
“ par with the Christian ! — There are  
“ abuses, but to reform them is it necessary  
“ to spill blood ? Those systems of equality  
“ in rank and fortune are only chimæras.  
“ You, who share our duties, Ministers of  
“ God, go into your pulpits, proclaim these  
“ truths, tell the people they are de-  
“ ceived, &c.”

This Mandate produced in the Diocese of Treguier an effect very alarming to the factious. A considerable number of young people had quitted the National Guard, and published a Declaration, by which they protested, that their interests were inseparable from that of the Nobility and Clergy ; that  
they

they had ever had reason to be proud of the Gentry of their Province; and they appointed the Chevalier *de Keralio* their Commander.

If the Bishop of *Treguier's* Mandate had been concerted with all his colleagues, and published at the same time in all the Dioceses of the Kingdom; or rather, if immediately after the horrid days of the 5th and 6th of October, all the Bishops of France had ordered general prayers of forty hours for the preservation of the lives of the King and Royal Family; if each of them had published on that occasion one affecting and energetic Mandate, in which, after explaining with proper precaution the proceedings of the Assembly and the danger of the new systems, they had strenuously endeavoured to recall all the sentiments of loyalty and love of the King, it is possible that, without exposing themselves in any manner, they might have checked the Revolution.

The States of *Cambresis*, or rather their intermediate Commission, augmented and composed of members of the three Orders, took a part at this period truly energetic, and of which the dissolution of the Assembly

bly would have been the certain and immediate consequence, if the example of that small Province had been followed by all the others. The intermediate Commission on the 9th of November entered into a Resolution, in which considering—" that certain  
" Decrees of the National Assembly are paving the way for the ruin of the Kingdom, and the annihilation of Religion ;  
" that, if they have been able to place one species of property at the disposal of the Nation, men of all kinds of property may expect the same fate ; they declare, from this moment, the powers of the Deputies of Cambresis to the National Assembly to be null and revoked." It is true that the Provinces which had neither States nor intermediate Commission could not do the same thing ; but all might have done much better. Were they not all divided into Bailiwicks ? Had not those Bailiwicks appointed Electors ? Could not those Electors have assembled, deliberated, and entered into resolutions, as the Electors of Paris had done without the least obstacle before the eyes of the King and the Assembly ? Could not the Electors of the Provinces have made use of the

the same power to save the State, as those of the Capital had employed to overturn every thing? Could a single law have been opposed to the former, against which they might not have pleaded the authority of the latter? Certainly not: they might, therefore, even more lawfully than the intermediate Commission of Cambresis have declared the powers of their Deputies null and revoked, as in fact it was from themselves that those powers were derived. We may judge of the effect that this procedure would have produced, by the timid moderation with which the National Assembly treated the intermediate Commission of Cambresis: they did not quash them, cite them to their bar, or send their Resolution to the Châtelet: but after discussing the business in three different Sittings\*, they contented themselves with declaring that the intermediate Commission, or the Board (*Bureau renforcé*) of the States of Cambresis, not having power to represent the States of Cambray and of Cambresis, and to express the will of that Province, the Resolution of the said Commission was void, and dero-

\* The 17th, 19th, and 24th of November.

gatory to the National Sovereignty and to the Rights of the Citizens. They resolved, at the same time, that the King should be prayed to give the necessary orders for bringing back the members of the said Commission to their duty, and for causing the Decrees of the Assembly to be executed by the people of Cambresis. They concluded the Decree with a recommendation to the inhabitants of that Province, to persist in the maintenance of order and peace, and in the confidence due to the Decrees of the National Assembly.

It is evident that, if instead of having to repulse the single attack of the intermediate Commission of one of the smallest Provinces of France, the Assembly had had to determine upon their own dissolution resulting from the revocation of the powers of all their members, pronounced at the same time by the same Assemblies, who had invested them with those powers, they would have been forced to submit. These simultaneous meetings of all the Electoral Assemblies of the Kingdom would have been very easily effected, if they had been urged by intelligent and faithful Agents, such as the Ministry should have had in all the Provinces.

But

But the most necessary precautions in so critical a moment had been neglected, and the King's principal Ministers were themselves no more than the humble and docile Agents of the National Assembly.

## CHAPTER XX.

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*Scarcity of Money—Mr. Necker reads a long Memorial to the Assembly—Report of the Committee of Finances—Debate upon the Plan proposed by Mr. Necker—The Assembly make a Gift to the Country of all the Deputies' Silver Buckles—Debate upon the Organization of the Municipalities—Impeachment at the Chatelet by the Committee of Inquiry against the late Ministers, Marshal Broglio, and the Baron de Buzenval—Trial of the latter—The same Committee lodge Informations respecting the Outrages committed on the 6th of October—Insurrection at Toulon—Conduct of the Assembly on that Occasion—Various Plans of Finance—*  
*Assignats*

*Assignats—Arrest and Trial of the Marquis de Favras, accused of a Conspiracy—Suspicions spread abroad on that Occasion against Monsieur, the King's Brother—He goes to the Hotel-de-Ville and dissipates them—Supposed Murder.*

TIME is the destroyer of all things, and a scythe is his emblem: but he is also represented holding an hour-glass, the repeated revolutions of which assign to every thing its end. They fix the degree of maturity which all human institutions require to produce their intended effect: and thus it is with great reason said, that a good Constitution can only be the work of time.

The Assembly, deaf to these truths, which men of sense were continually repeating to them, borrowed only the scythe of Time, and thought without his aid to give France immediately the most perfect Constitution. In the midst of ruins, divisions, and crimes, they laid the foundation of their edifice, or rather of a second Tower of Babel; and not less discord prevailed among the labourers who worked at the one, than among those who attempted to raise the other. This enterprise, as fatal as it was foolish, and



the destructions and usurpations with which it was accompanied, equally alarmed the landed and moneyed interest. Terror obstructed the circulation of specie no less than that of provisions. It became scarcer every day at Paris, and the poverty of the Royal treasury was extreme.

Mr. *Necker* drew a picture of this disastrous situation in a Memorial, which he presented to the Assembly on the 14th of November, and the reading of which lasted nearly two hours. The result of it was, that a supply of 170 millions was necessary for the Royal treasury, to answer only the extraordinary expences of the concluding year, and that which was commencing, without reckoning the deficiency that might be caused by the possible and too probable delay in the payment of the taxes. After having discussed the different methods of procuring an extraordinary supply, so considerable at a time when credit was so very low, he pitched upon that of converting the *Caisse d'Escompte* into a National Bank, and stated it as preferable to all the others. He proposed fixing at 240 millions the sum total of the bills of that Bank, which should be secured by the Nation, stamped with the

†

the

the arms of France, and that the legend should be the words *National Security*. The securities that should be delivered to the National Bank for the recovery of its advance, might be settled on the funds to be raised from the patriotic contributions, from the sale of the estates of the Clergy, and from the demesne lands ; and might be payable by monthly instalments of ten millions each : so that in 1791 the reimbursement of the 170 millions, for which the King should only pay an interest of four per cent. would be entirely completed. He insisted on this plan, as being the only one likely to re-establish order ; and yet he concluded his speech by acknowledging, that, in *his own judgment, every part of it was strongly tinged with the vexatious nature of the present circumstances.* “ Standing alone, I feel (added he) what it costs me to depart from the ordinary principles of Administration, the strict adherence to which has alone hitherto reconciled me to the management of public affairs. I request that the result of it should be considered as a mere opinion : discuss it, and judge.—I shall not adopt it till you have fully approved it. I did not decline de-

" ciding, while only a simple project of  
 " contribution was in question—but I ought  
 " not to stand alone responsible for events.  
 " It is sufficient to exist in anxiety while  
 " seeking to do good ; it is sufficient to ex-  
 " ert one's thoughts to lessen the evils of  
 " the State ; it is sufficient to go on sinking  
 " under the immense burden with which I  
 " am continually loaded, without relaxation.  
 " Allow me, though addressing you on  
 " business, to offer you the tribute of my  
 " sentiments and thoughts. I should con-  
 " fine myself to speak to you in the simple  
 " language of reason, *but it is incomplete*  
 " *without sentiment ; for sentiment alone*  
 " *can collect the ideas, which escape the*  
 " *effects and the grasp of the under-*  
 " *standing\*.*"

The Committee of Finances a few days  
 after presented the result of their labours.  
 The Marquis *de Montesquiou*, who was  
 charged with this Report, stated in it with  
 the greatest detail, the whole of the Finances

\* The extraordinary pathos of this last sentiment is not  
 within the reach of every body's understanding, and it is  
 far above mine ; but I could not have suppressed it  
 without mutilating the peroration of Mr. *Necker's*  
 speech.

of the Kingdom, the present state of the Royal treasury, its wants, resources, and hopes, whether in adopting Mr. *Necker's* plan, or in establishing a National Bank independent of the *Caisse d'Escompte*. This, without directly attacking the Minister's plan, was pointing out that another might be adopted.

In the Sitting of the 19th of November, at the moment that the discussion upon Mr. *Necker's Memorial* was opening, a Deputation from the little town of Iffoudun entered, and presented to the Assembly 115 marks of silver, arising from the buckles and jewels which the inhabitants of that Commune offered to the Country. These offerings were received with the greatest applause, which increased when one of the Deputies, taking off his shoes, gravely laid his buckles upon the table, and proposed to the Assembly to decree, that all the Members *should do the same*. This motion was no sooner articulated, than the Assembly unanimously decreed, that all the Members should make a gift of their buckles to the Country. This puerile supply had, unquestionably, the quality of that which Mr. *Necker* demanded—it was *very extraordinary*; but, unfortunately,

nately, it only amounted to about 170 louis-d'ors out of the 170 million livres that were to be raised. Indeed, the Assembly flattered themselves that all France would follow their example—but more brass buckles were sold in consequence, than silver ones given.

*Mirabeau*, who in all the discussions relative to the *Caisse d'Escompte* had shown himself the declared enemy of that establishment, opposed with all the powers of eloquence, reason, and ridicule, the plan proposed by Mr. *Necker*. “ We must examine  
“ (said he) if the demand made for the  
“ national cloak to cover the nakedness of  
“ the *Caisse d'Escompte* be not an advantage taken of the good faith of the Minister, an impolitic as well as immoral calculation; a terrible aggravation of the  
“ general decline to private interest, hitherto  
“ falsely represented as the impulse of patriotism.

“ What indeed would be the passport for  
“ the circulation of those bank bills? What  
“ inducement for the Capital and Provinces  
“ to place confidence in the use of that  
“ paper?—The national credit! the national  
“ security!—Let us breathe, Gentlemen—  
“ all

“ all is not lost—Mr. *Necker* does not de-  
 “ spair of the credit of France!

“ Entirely founded on our credit, this  
 “ Bank then would deign to render us the  
 “ *essential service* of lending us, upon the  
 “ security of our subscriptions, the same  
 “ notes to which our stamp alone should  
 “ have given life and motion; and in re-  
 “ turn for this service, they demand of us  
 “ an interest of four per cent. in favour of  
 “ the stock-holders!—Four per cent.!—  
 “ That is but little for the stock-jobbers,  
 “ but a great deal for the Nation. If a  
 “ Prince at war should dictate such terms to  
 “ us, with what a disdainful smile should  
 “ we oppose so base a treaty! Let us, at  
 “ length, dare to be sensible that our coun-  
 “ try, in the use of its credit, can dispense  
 “ with unnecessary mediums. Let us dare  
 “ to believe, that every saving which pro-  
 “ ceeds from the returns of what we give,  
 “ is but the secret of an empiric. Such  
 “ a national fund or bank as has been  
 “ proposed by the Committee of Finances  
 “ would unite all interests were it once  
 “ decreed; and four-and-twenty hours  
 “ would not elapse before we should find a  
 “ wise plan adapted to the nature of things,  
 “ exempt

“ exempt from disagreeable consequences,  
“ and at least proper to restore credit  
“ promptly.” He concluded with moving  
that Mr. *Necker* should be informed, that  
the National Assembly would wait for the  
general plan he had mentioned to them be-  
fore they came to a resolution.

One of the speakers who followed *Mira-  
beau* against Mr. *Necker*'s plan was of opi-  
nion, that it was intended to cover the abuses  
of the *Caisse d'Escompte*; that it exposed  
that Bank to a third failure, and the Nation  
to a participation in the dishonour of a bank-  
ruptcy; and that it allowed usurious interest  
to name-lenders, and not to real lenders.  
“ Mr. *Necker* (cried he) would efface with  
“ his tears what he has written with his  
“ hand, could he foresee the consequences  
“ of it.” He concluded by mentioning a  
plan for creating a National Paper, under  
the inspection and direction of Commis-  
sioners to be appointed by the Assembly.

*Du Pont de Nemours* replied, and boldly  
defended the *Caisse d'Escompte*, and the  
Ministers' plan. After he had spoken, the  
debate was adjourned till next day, when  
the following decree was passed: “ That  
“ there

“ there be laid before the Assembly authen-  
 “ tic information of the engagements en-  
 “ tered into by the Government with the  
 “ *Caisse d'Escompte* up to the 31st of De-  
 “ cember following ; an account of what  
 “ appears from the vouchers of the extra-  
 “ ordinary expences estimated at 170 mil-  
 “ lions ; of all that has been taken up be-  
 “ forehand ; of the interest, annuities, and  
 “ pensions in arrear ; of the remainders due  
 “ by the Departments, and of the bills of  
 “ which payment was suspended.” In the  
 mean time, till these papers were laid before  
 them, the Assembly turned their attention to  
 the organization of the Municipalities ; and  
 the debates on that subject nearly occupied  
 them for a month.

In that interval, the attention and curiosity  
 of the Public, ever eager for new scenes,  
 were strongly excited by the proceedings of  
 the Committee of Inquiry of the Municipa-  
 lity of Paris. That Committee, commis-  
 sioned to collect all the proofs and documents  
 necessary to ground the denunciation which  
 the Solicitor of the Commune was to make  
 at the Chatelet against the outrages of the  
 5th and 6th of October, did not confine  
 their commission to that object, but went to  
 work



work so as not to endanger their popularity ; and in consequence their first resolution, which was taken on the 18th of November, was : “ That the Solicitor of the Commune  
“ should, in the first place, specially de-  
“ nounce the conspiracy formed against the  
“ National Assembly and the City of Paris,  
“ between the month of May and the 15th  
“ of July last ; the assembling of troops  
“ composed chiefly of foreigners, with a  
“ considerable train of artillery, bombs,  
“ mortars, and furnaces to heat balls ; the  
“ collecting all these implements of war be-  
“ tween Paris and Versailles ; the National  
“ Assembly driven from their Sitzings, and  
“ afterwards kept in confinement in the  
“ same place, amidst the troops by which  
“ they were surrounded, their liberty vio-  
“ lated, and the most sacred laws of the  
“ State trampled upon in the Sitting of the  
“ 23d of June ; all the preparations made  
“ at the Bastille for destroying the Capital ;  
“ the orders given to cut down the unripe  
“ corn to feed the horses of the troops ; the  
“ provisions designed for the Capital inter-  
“ cepted, and given to the soldiers assembled  
“ against its inhabitants ; the order given to  
“ the Prince *de Lambesc* to enter the Thuil-  
“ leries

“ leries at the head of his regiment, and  
 “ chase the unarmed townsmen, &c. &c. :  
 “ for which crimes, the *Sieur Barentin*,  
 “ formerly Keeper of the Seals ; the Count  
 “ *de Puysegur*, formerly Minister at War ;  
 “ Marshal *Broglie*, the Baron *de Buzenval*,  
 “ and Count *D’Autichamp*, should be de-  
 “ livered up, to be dealt with according  
 “ to law for the said crimes ; together with  
 “ their abettors, adherents, and accom-  
 “ plices.”

The very next day the Solicitor of the Commune denounced those pretended crimes to the King’s Solicitor of the Chatelet, who lodged informations against them the day following ; on which day the Chatelet began the prosecution, in presence of the public, against *M. de Buzenval*, who had been confined in prison since the month of July. As it was the first criminal trial publicly conducted, the attraction, novelty, and curiosity to hear the evidence against *M. de Buzenval*, and his replies to such serious articles of accusation, drew an immense crowd to the Court at the Chatelet, where he appeared with that calm air and unalterable serenity which distinguish innocence. Alas ! it could not be in the eyes of the rebellious  
 Parisians

Parisians that *M. de Buzenval* was culpable; on the contrary, they were obliged to him for making no use of the powers and means with which he was entrusted to repress their outrages: before a Court Martial, indeed, he would have found it difficult to have justified himself.

It was not till the 1st of December that the Solicitor of the Commune, authorised by a resolution of the Committee of Inquiry of the 23d of November, denounced to the King's Solicitor at the Chatelet, *not the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October*, but only *the outrages of the 6th of October*. The Committee of Inquiry shamefully advanced in their resolution, that the object for which the People and National Guard of Paris went to Versailles, was *to repress disorder, and secure peace to the King and National Assembly; and that on their arrival they accomplished that sacred object which they had made their law*. The outrages of the next day were imputed to *brigands, who, induced by clandestine manœuvres, had mixed with the citizens*. In consequence, the information of the King's Solicitor was laid only against *certain authors of the commotions of that day*.

In

In comparing these two denunciations, they present a very striking contrast of audacity and timidity, of calumny and reserve. The one enters into the minutest details of imaginary crimes, names the pretended criminals, and calls down the vengeance of the laws upon them; while the other suppresses the chief circumstances of real outrages, imputed to unknown brigands, to certain persons! What a popularity was that of the Committee of Inquiry\*!

The seditious commotions with which the whole Kingdom was agitated, and which every day produced new insurrections, broke out at this period with the greatest violence in the port of Toulon. *M. d'Albert de Rioms*, who commanded there, observing that some workmen of the port, who had entered into the National Guard, neglected their work on that pretence, though paid for it, or performed it in a slovenly manner, very wisely judged that those two duties were incompatible, and in consequence declared, that such workmen as preferred remaining in the ser-

\* It was at that time composed of the following persons: *Agier, Perron, Oudart, Garran de Coulon*, and *Brissot*.

vice of the National Guard should not be employed in the dock-yard. On that occasion, he dismissed in the evening of the 30th of November two Master-attendants (*Maitres d'Equipages*) of whom he had long had reason to complain. The next morning, at nine o'clock, he was informed that a Deputation of the Permanent Council was at the door of the arsenal; to whom he sent an invitation to come in, which was opposed by the people. *M. d'Albert* then sent word to the Gentlemen, that he would go home to receive the Deputation. All the officers who were in the arsenal assembled to accompany their General, and at the door they found the Deputies surrounded by an immense crowd of people, who followed them to the Commander's house, incessantly hooting and threatening them.

At *M. d'Albert's* house the Deputation begged a pardon for the two Masters, promising on that condition that things should return to their usual order. *M. d'Albert* hesitated at first to grant the pardon, and showed the danger that would attend it; on which, one of the Members of the Deputation taking the Municipal Officer by the arm said: "Come, Sir, let us retire; let us

“ go and save the town, which is in danger ; I now change my mind.” But the Municipal Officer who was at the head of the Deputation continued to press *M. d’Albert*, obtained a pardon for the two Masters, and caused it to be immediately published through the town : at the same time *M. d’Albert* gave orders to assemble fifty soldiers of the Marine under arms on the *Champ de Bataille*\*.

*M. de Broves*, a Major of the Marine, who commanded this detachment, was insulted, and an attempt was even made to force his sword from him, but in vain ; and he then gave his men the word of command to present arms, but was obeyed only by the first rank. The populace, thinking he had given the word to fire, became doubly furious. It was with much difficulty that *M. de Broves* made his way into the General’s house, who immediately dispatched an officer to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to require the proclamation of Martial Law. The Council replied that they could not

\* The *Champ de Bataille* is a square so called at Toulon, as in some other towns of France. In those squares troops draw up to do duty and mount guard.

order it, and contented themselves with sending company after company of the National Guards, who surrounded the General's house; but who defended it so ill, that several of the officers were wounded with stones, and *M. de Bonneval* on the head and on the hand by a sword.

*M. d'Albert de Rioms* having been unable to obtain the proclamation of martial law, ordered a picket-guard of fifty men of the regiment of *Barrois* to protect his house. As soon as it arrived, the Major of the National Guard represented that it was useless and even dangerous; that the sight of these soldiers would only increase the fury of the people, and that he would answer for all: on which assurance *M. d'Albert* consented to dismiss the picket-guard; but they were scarcely gone, when *M. de St. Julien*, a Major of the Marine, carrying an order from the General, was attacked, and had his sword broken in the scabbard. He returned for another; but attempting to go into the General's house he was again attacked, and had only time to join the soldiers of the Marine assembled for the security of the port. "I hope (said he to them) that you will not allow an officer to be  
" mur-

“ murdered at your head.” They answered him, that he had nothing to fear. He was nevertheless assailed at the same moment by the populace, the soldiers standing by without making the slightest attempt to assist him ; and he would have been massacred, if two Officers of the National Guard had not forced him from the hands of the murderers. They carried him to the Commander’s house in a deplorable state. He was accused by the people of having wounded a National Guard on the hand with his sword ; but this Guard was not named, and *M. de St. Julien* gave his word of honour that he had made no use of his sword. *M. d’Albert de Rioms* had gone out to his assistance with about thirty Officers, and returned home after *M. de St. Julien* had been brought in.

From that time till two o’clock in the afternoon tranquillity appearing to be restored, several Officers went out for a short time, but on their return the National Guard refused to let the greater part of them pass in at the door. At three o’clock the tumult, motions, and cries of the populace became as violent as ever. The Major of the National Guard then went to demand *M. de*



*Broves*, in order to carry him to the *Palais*, promising that he should receive no harm. That brave officer, fearing that a refusal would involve his companions, did not hesitate to give himself up to the National Guard, who succeeded in conducting him safely to the *Palais*, amidst the most sanguinary threats and vociferations. Soon after this a Deputation from the Permanent Council, accompanied by the Commander of the Garrison, (*M. de Carpillet*) went and informed *M. d'Albert* that the people were satisfied, and that the National troops were going to be withdrawn, except a guard of fifty men; which the General accepted, but desired that to these might be added a detachment, equal in number, of the second battalion of the regiment of *Barrois*. The Deputation answered, that they were not authorised to do this, but that they flattered themselves they should obtain authority from the Permanent Council, to whom they would immediately apply. The National Guard having opposed this, the Major sent round to every company, to engage the troops to take the General's house and the Officers in it under their safeguard; but the only answer

swer he received was violent murmurs, and at the same instant the men forced the doors of the house, rushed in in a crowd, and seizing *M. d'Albert de Rioms*, *M. de Castellet*, *M. de Bonneval*, and *M. de Villages*, dragged them to the *Palais*, through the insults and outrages of the populace. *M. d'Albert* received two wounds on the way. These Officers were thrown into separate dungeons; but the Municipal Officer, as soon as he heard of it, caused them to be removed, and placed together in one of the rooms of the prison.

The people, whose rage was not yet satisfied, searched a long time for *M. Gautier*, the Master-builder, in order to treat him in the same manner; but he had the good fortune to escape, after running the greatest danger.

Eight days afterwards, *M. de Castellet*, who had been wounded on the 1st of December, and *M. d'Albert de Rioms*, who had had several attacks of a fever, were removed to the hospital. They were scarcely in their beds, when they were forced by a mob to rise and cross the town in their night-gowns, supported by volunteers, and were confined more strictly in their prison.

The National Assembly were informed in the Sitting of the 1st of December, by a letter from the Keeper of the Seals, of the commotions at Toulon, and of the orders which the King had given for informations upon the facts relative to that insurrection, and for the liberation of the Officers confined. *M. Malouet* spoke forcibly on the necessity of order being restored in that important town; insisted that a striking reparation should be made to *M. d'Albert de Rioms*; and moved a plan for a decree on those two points. The Abbé *de Bonneval*, brother to one of the Officers who had been wounded and imprisoned, endeavoured to excite the feelings of the Assembly: but they contented themselves with directing their President to beseech the King to give orders for restoring the Officers to liberty; which was asking him to do what was already done. The Assembly, ever indulgent to popular excesses, were very careful not to insert in their decree a word that could indicate a disapprobation of the insurrection of the Toulonese.

On the 12th of December the Representatives of that Commune received a letter  
from

from *M. de St. Priest*, containing the King's order to set the Officers of the Marine who were in prison at liberty. Instead of obeying this order, they had the insolence to adopt a resolution in substance as follows: " That as it did not legally appear by *M. de St. Priest*'s letter what the will of the King really was ; as the *Sieur d'Albert* and others had been arrested by public out-cry ; and as there had been no change of circumstances, the Representatives of the Commune would wait the determination of the National Assembly, and persisted in their former resolution."

This Resolution, being sent to the National Assembly with some other papers, was read in the Sitting of the 17th of December. The consideration of this business was adjourned till the next day ; but it was not resumed till the Assembly had received farther news from Toulon ; which did not arrive till the 21st, and it consisted of a Minute of the General Council of the Commune, stating : " That the Decree of the Assembly having been received at Toulon on the 14th, in the evening, the National Guard had assembled the next morning at seven o'clock ; that the Council-General, pre-  
ceded

“ ceded by trumpets, had published the decree of the National Assembly and the King’s orders, with an injunction to the Citizens to do nothing to prevent their being executed; that the people and the soldiers having sworn respect and submission by acclamation, the Council had proceeded to the *Palais*, set the Officers of the Marine at liberty, and had conducted them back to the General’s house, without any commotion on the part of the people; that returning to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, the Council had found a great assemblage of persons; that they had enjoined them to go home, on which they had dispersed; that on the same day the Officers had applied for a passport to go to Marseilles, and that the Council had granted it to them.”

The Assembly having heard this Minute read, decreed, that the President should write to the Council-General of Toulon, and inform them that the Assembly were satisfied with the manner in which the Municipal Officers had conducted themselves with respect to the decree sanctioned by the King. They either would not, or dared not, add a sentence of disapprobation or of regret at the

outrages

outrages that had been committed against the principal Officers of the Marine at Toulon, and which had reduced them to the necessity of quitting their service. They did not even blame the formal and avowed disobedience of the Council-General to the King's orders, which enjoined them to set the Officers at liberty. Did not this silence very clearly show, that the Supreme Executive Power, placed by the new Constitution in the hands of the King, were words void of meaning? a power that must be reckoned as nothing; not possessing the means of enforcing obedience? Nobody indeed was deceived by it; and one of the things that surprised me most on my entering into administration, was the style of loftiness and impertinence, not only of the letters received by the Ministers, but of those which Clerks, Municipal Officers, and even private persons, took the liberty of sending to the King.

The impositions and contradictions contained in the public papers of that time, relative to this insurrection at Toulon, determined me to insert here the extract which I made myself from the official papers respecting

ing the business, deposited in the Navy-Office. I have reported enough to show that the Officers of the Marine conducted themselves on that occasion with as much wisdom as courage and loyalty.

The discussion of the different plans of finance was resumed in the Sitting of the 17th of December. Mr. *Necker's* observations upon that which the Assembly had submitted to his examination, and which had been drawn up by *M. de Laborde*, was read. After pointing out the defects of this plan, the Minister abandoned that which he had proposed himself, and presented a new one which he had concerted with the Members of the Committee of Finances, and with the Directors of the *Caisse d'Escompte*. The debate on this important subject produced on the 19th two decrees, the heads of which are as follow :

The first enacted, " That the notes of the  
" *Caisse d'Escompte* should continue to be  
" received in payment, at all public and  
" private banks until the 1st of July 1790,  
" at which time it should be held to make  
" its payments generally ; that in the inter-  
" val it should furnish eighty millions for  
" the

" the public treasury ; that the seventy mil-  
 " lions advanced to the Royal treasury in  
 " 1787 should be reimbursed by annuities  
 " bearing five per cent. interest, and three  
 " per cent. for the reimbursement of the  
 " capital in twenty years ; that for its ad-  
 " vances of the preceding years, and of the  
 " first six months of the year 1790, it should  
 " receive one hundred and seventy millions  
 " in *Assignats*, from the fund for the ex-  
 " traordinary expenses, or shares (*billets*  
 " *d'achats*, *purchase notes*) in the funded  
 " property ; which should be opened to  
 " sale, bearing an interest of five per cent.  
 " and payable at the rate of ten millions per  
 " month, from the 1st of January 1791."

The four last articles of this complicated  
 decree, amended on Mr. Necker's represen-  
 tations, " empowered the *Caissé d'Escompte* to  
 " create twenty-five millions of new funds,  
 " settled the dividend, the part of the profits  
 " to remain in the treasury to form a com-  
 " mutation fund, and they fixed likewise the  
 " period and portions for redeeming the  
 " funds, &c. &c."

By the second decree the Assembly en-  
 acted, " That there should be established a

" par-



“ particular fund for the extraordinary ex-  
“ penses, the money of which should be  
“ appropriated to the payment of money  
“ becoming due and in arrear, and to the  
“ reimbursement of the capitals of all the  
“ debts of which the extinction should be  
“ decreed. That the funds arising, 1st,  
“ from the patriotic contributions, *the sale*  
“ *of the demesnes of the crown*, the forests  
“ and royal palaces which his Majesty  
“ should choose to reserve excepted; and  
“ 2dly, from the sale of the ecclesiastical  
“ demesnes, to raise together a sum of four  
“ hundred millions, should be thrown into  
“ this fund; that there should be issued  
“ upon the credit of the extraordinary fund,  
“ *Assignats* of one thousand livres each,  
“ bearing an interest of five per cent. to  
“ the amount of the value of the said pro-  
“ perty to be sold, which *Assignats* should  
“ be received in preference for the purchase  
“ of the said property; that of the said  
“ *Assignats* there should be extinguished, by  
“ means of the said sales, the produce of  
“ the patriotic contributions, and all other  
“ extraordinary receipts that might take  
“ place, one hundred and twenty mil-  
“ lions

“ lions in 1791, eighty millions in 1792,  
 “ eighty millions in 1793, eighty millions  
 “ in 1794, and the surplus in 1795.”

The last article was framed according to corrections proposed by Mr. *Necker*.

Thus sprung up, under the name of *Assignats*, that fatal paper-money, at first devised to cover a deficit of one hundred and seventy millions, and which in a little time became by audacious impositions the most disastrous revolutionary means, the instrument of all plundering, of every possible ruin, the wages of every crime, in a word, the scourge of France, of Europe, of humanity itself; till, by a bankruptcy of forty thousand millions, it sunk into the same gulph into which it had precipitated all property.

The end of this year of misfortunes and of crimes presents only one remarkable event more, that of the arrest of the unfortunate Marquis *de Favras*, and the commencement of his trial. This Gentleman, whose youth had been very boisterous, still retained in his riper years that ardent intriguing character, that presumption and imprudence which had so often misled him; and his attachment to royalty taking place of  
 his

his other passions, took also the nature of them. The outrages of the 5th and 6th of October raised in him the strongest desire to attempt every thing to rescue the Royal Family from the dangers that threatened them; and he formed a scheme with more zeal than prudence for carrying off the King. His mode of accomplishing this, was to be by means of an army of about thirty thousand Royalists, whose enrolment and arming were to be effected so secretly, that nothing of it was to transpire till the moment of action. As an enterprise of this nature required considerable funds, and as money was an article which the Marquis *de Favras* was the least provided with, he took every possible step to procure it. He applied to several bankers, and communicated his plan to the Royalists of his acquaintance whom he thought the likeliest to assist him with their purses; but he obtained more praise than confidence from them.

It happened at this time that MONSIEUR, the King's brother, who had for several months before been deprived of the possession of his revenues by a series of different operations

operations of the Assembly, and who had considerable payments to make in the month of January, was considering how to fulfil his engagements without being burdensome to the public treasury. To do this in a less chargeable way than the general modes of borrowing in so critical a moment, that Prince had formed a plan of negotiating bonds to the amount of the sum he wanted. *M. de Favras*, who some years before had served in MONSIEUR's Swiss Guards, was pointed out to him by the Marquis *de la Châtre* as a very proper person to accomplish the business with the bankers *Chomel* and *Sartorius*: in consequence his Royal Highness had signed an obligation for two millions, and charged his treasurer to attend to the transaction.

The indiscretion of some of the numerous confidants of *M. de Favras*' plan, and his own imprudence in blending and pursuing together the steps relative to that, and those which concerned the negotiation of the obligation for two millions executed by MONSIEUR, excited the attention and uneasiness of the Committee of Inquiry. They caused the Marquis *de Favras* and

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his lady to be arrested in the night between the 24th and 25th of December, and accused them of “ Conspiracy against the  
“ order of things established by consent  
“ of the Nation and of the King; of having  
“ formed to that effect a project for introducing in the night-time armed men  
“ into the Capital, to murder the three  
“ chief persons in the Administration, attack the King’s Guard, carry off the  
“ State seal, and remove their Majesties to  
“ Peronne; of having attempted to corrupt some of the National Guards, and  
“ to mislead them by promises and deceitful confidence; of having had conferences with bankers, for the purpose  
“ of obtaining very considerable sums; and  
“ with other persons, for the purpose of  
“ extending the plot, if possible, to different provinces.”

The day after *M. de Favras* and his wife were arrested, the following paper was circulated with the greatest profusion through the Capital:

“ The Marquis *de Favras* (Place-Royale) was with his wife arrested on the  
“ night

“ night between the 24th and 25th, on  
 “ account of a plan which he had pro-  
 “ jected to raise thirty thousand men, to  
 “ cause *M. de la Fayette* and the Mayor  
 “ of the town to be murdered, and then  
 “ to cut off our provisions. — MON-  
 “ SIEUR, the King’s brother, was at the  
 “ head of it.

(Signed) BARAUZ.”

This public denunciation of the King’s brother, which was quickly aggravated by the commentaries of the factious, and by the exaggerations of calumny, raised the greatest fermentation in the Capital, not only against that Prince, but against the King himself, who was supposed to be in combination with his brother. A violent and sudden explosion seemed inevitable, and certainly would have taken place, if MONSIEUR, who was not at liberty to despise dangers with which the King and the Royal Family were not less threatened than himself, had not taken the only step that could dispel this storm. He repaired on the 26th to the Assembly of the Representatives of the Commune, by whom he

was received with all the respect and attention due to him. "Gentlemen," said he, "the desire of repelling an atrocious calumny brings me among you. *M. de Favras* was arrested the day before yesterday, by order of your Committee of Inquiry, and it is now studiously reported that I am particularly connected with him. I thought I owed it to the King, to you, and to myself, to come and inform you of the only knowledge I have of *M. de Favras*." After stating exactly and simply the facts relative to the obligation of two millions, as I have already mentioned, MONSIEUR added: "I have neither seen *M. de Favras*, written to him, nor had any communication whatever with him. Whatever besides he may have done I am perfectly unacquainted with; yet I find a paper circulating in great numbers through the town, signed *Barauz*, and in these terms:—" He then read the paper, and said: "You cannot certainly expect that I should condescend to justify myself against so vile a charge," &c. &c. &c.

This speech was greatly and unanimously  
applauded

applauded by the Assembly and the galleries. The Mayor, in his reply, expressed the sentiments of respect and attachment felt by the Assembly for MONSIEUR, and the boundless confidence inspired by his virtues. *M. de la Fayette* spoke after *M. Bailly*, and said, that he had taken care to have the authors of the paper arrested, and that they were in prison. MONSIEUR requested a pardon for them, but the Assembly decided that they should be punished. The Prince thought it proper also to inform the National Assembly of the motives that had induced him to take this step, and in consequence sent them a copy of the speech he had made at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, accompanied by a note, in which he said that he should lay before the Assembly the state of the debts which he proposed to pay with the two millions for which he had executed the obligation.

This conduct dissipated the uneasiness and suspicions which had been conceived respecting the sentiments of MONSIEUR, and of the Royal Family, and the popular rage turned entirely against *M. de Favras*. No doubt was entertained of his having formed



a plot for assassinating *M. Bailly* and *M. de la Fayette*; and the Committee of Inquiry neglected nothing that could confirm the opinion. On the 29th of December they denounced to the Assembly a pretended attack made upon the person of a sentinel of the National Guard, found the preceding day *murdered* in a sentry-box by a person who could not be distinguished from the darkness of the night. In fact, there had been found in the sentry-box a kind of long punch, the iron of which was rusty and bent, and a bit of paper folded in two, on which was written: *Go before, La Fayette shall follow you.* The surgeon called to prove this pretended murder deposed that the wound was not dangerous; that the blow from the punch had been made obliquely, high on the fore part of the neck, below the chin, and had penetrated very superficially.

One must have been a member of the Committee of Inquiry not to presume upon all the circumstances, that the *murdered* might be the murderer, and to denounce so inconsiderately to the Assembly as a counter-revolutionary crime, an action which

was

was certainly very atrocious and very awkward, but which was absolutely in the spirit of the Revolution. The District of the Capuchins of the Marais, to which this sentinel belonged, were not deceived in the business, and sent the man so badly murdered to the prison of the Abbaye, where the first night of his confinement he stabbed himself thrice with a knife, nor would he answer any interrogatories that were put to him. But these circumstances were not known for four days after, and they did not weaken the opinion of those who were willing to believe the great plot formed against *M. de la Fayette*.

On the 31st of December, the President of the National Assembly, at the head of a numerous Deputation, went to the Palace at ten o'clock at night, to compliment the King and Queen on the new year. The speech he addressed to the King will be preserved by history as an authentic testimony of his Majesty's virtues. The King replied—"I only wish for the happiness  
 " of my subjects, and I hope, with you,  
 " that the year we are entering upon will

“ be a period of prosperity and felicity for  
“ France.”

Alas! it still depended on the Assembly  
to realize that hope.

## CHAPTER XXI.

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*Decree relative to Pensions—Deputation to the King for settling the Civil List—His Majesty's Reply—The Marquis de Favras' Trial—Fury of the People—Assembling of Soldiers in the Champs Elysées suppressed by M. de la Fayette—The Marquis de Favras condemned to Death and executed—His Heroism—Organization of the New Municipalities—An important Step taken by the King in the Assembly—His Majesty's Speech attended with great Applause—Expressions of the Queen—Address of Thanks to their Majesties—Oath taken by the Assembly and all the Spectators—Advantage that might have been drawn from that Circumstance—M. Ma-*

*M. Malouet's Motion on that Occasion rejected—The President's Speech to the King—Te Deum—Illumination—Division of France into Districts—An Address to the People decreed by the Assembly, and drawn up by the Bishop of Autun.*

THE last Sitzings of the old year were occupied by the debates upon the reduction of the pensions granted by the Government. The most odious comparisons and the most insulting epithets had been lavished on the unfortunate pensioners. *Their list* was said to be *only a catalogue of vile courtiers or contemptible flatterers*: they were marked out for the public hatred, sometimes as *leeches of the State*, sometimes as *the locusts that destroyed the harvests of Egypt*. A Captain of Grenadiers, who had frequently purchased with his blood the honour of being placed on that list, irritated at finding himself so unworthily treated, went to the house of one of the Deputies who had declaimed the most violently against the pensions, and, showing him his head, an arm, a leg, and a wrist, all of which had been broken, said, "Sir, I will come stark naked

" to

“ to the door of the National Assembly. I  
 “ will expose my scars, and I will call for  
 “ the savage who would reduce me to  
 “ want.”

This energetic expostulation, which was repeated to the Assembly by the member to whom it was addressed, (the Baron *de Wimpfen*) mitigated their severity: they nevertheless decreed, that the arrears of all pensions and salaries that did not exceed the sum of 3000 livres should be paid according to the existing regulations, but that all above 3000 livres should only be paid provisionally that sum, old persons of the age of seventy years excepted, the *maximum* of whose payments was provisionally fixed at the sum of 12,000 livres. By the same Decree it was ordained, that from the 1st of January 1790 the payment of all pensions, reserved salaries, gifts, and gratuities, becoming due, should be deferred until the 1st of July following, to be then made according to what should have been decreed, and that a Committee should be appointed for the purpose of immediately laying before the Assembly a plan for reducing, suppressing, or augmenting the pensions or annual gratuities actually existing.

This

This Decree, which certainly pressed hard upon the class of the great pensioners, was dictated by necessity ; and it would also have been as just as circumstances would have permitted, had it not had a retrospective effect in reducing the sums that had previously fallen due. But the particular murmurs excited by this reform were nothing in comparison to the applauses obtained by the Assembly, for the Decree passed in the same Sitting relative to the Civil List. They sent a Deputation to the King, to beg that he would himself have the goodness to fix the sum he would have the Assembly vote for his personal expences and those of his august family ; and they expressly charged the head of the Deputation to beseech his Majesty “ to consult, on this occasion, less his spirit  
“ of economy than the dignity of the  
“ French Nation, which required that the  
“ Throne of the Monarch should be supported with great lustre.”

The King made the following Reply to the President of the Assembly, who was at the head of the Deputation :

“ I am very sensible of the Resolution  
“ taken by the National Assembly, and of  
“ the

“ the sentiments you exprefs to me on their  
 “ part. I will not abufe their confidence ;  
 “ and before I fignify my mind on the sub-  
 “ ject of their Deputation, I will wait till  
 “ from the refult of their labours there fhall  
 “ be funds fecured for the payment of the  
 “ intereft due to the creditors of the State,  
 “ and to answer the neceffary expences of  
 “ public order, and the defence of the  
 “ Kingdom. What personally regards my-  
 “ felf is, in the prefent fituation of things,  
 “ the leaft of my concerns.”

Although the King's sentiments were fuf-  
 ficiently known to give room for expecting  
 this reply, it created the liveliest tranfports  
 of enthufiafm, tendernefs, and joy : four  
 different times did the fhouts of *Vive le Roi!*  
 and a general clapping burft out at once from  
 every part of the Hall and galleries. Mem-  
 bers and fpectators all at that moment were  
 Royalifts.

Very different was the fcene publicly paff-  
 ing at the Châtelet, in the affair of the Mar-  
 quis *de Favras*. The fury of the populace  
 againft him had rifen to fuch a pitch of vio-  
 lence, that it was not poffible to continue  
 the proceedings in his trial. Twelve wit-  
 nesses



nesses attended the Court on the 11th of January ; but the horrible cry of *Favras à la lanterne !* unanimously roared out by an immense crowd, forced both the witnesses and Judges to withdraw. Nor was the Court less tumultuous the next day, although all the National Guards were under arms, and several cannon placed before the Châtelet. On the same day riotous assemblies were formed in the *Champs Elisées*, principally composed of the soldiers of the former French Guards. The real motives of their assembling were not known : the demand of an augmentation of pay and of farther engagement appeared to be their object ; but so considerable an armed meeting close to the Palace and to the National Assembly, could not but be very alarming. *M. de la Fayette* marched out with a sufficient force to reduce the rioters, who seeing themselves surrounded laid down their arms. *M. de la Fayette* caused near 200 of them to be taken up, and their coats to be stripped off their backs, and the same day they were sent to the prisons of St. Denis.

This adventure intimidated the populace, or rather the brigands who had taken up their winter quarters in the suburbs of the Capital ;

Capital ; and at last on the 13th of January the trial of the Marquis *de Favras* came on, and some of the witnesses were examined. The concourse of people was not less than before, but a numerous guard secured tranquillity. In the environs of the Châtelet they arrested a person tolerably well dressed, who was talking in a seditious manner, and carried him before *Grandin* the Commissioner. He appeared to be really astonished at being arrested, and complained bitterly to the Commissioner of the mistake. "What ! "Gentlemen," said he, "a'n't I a good citizen ? I, who cut off the heads of " *Foulon* and *Launay* ; who tore out their " hearts and bowels !" Then taking a knife out of his pocket, he showed it as the instrument he had used. On its being observed to him, that his knife was too small for such a purpose, he said that he had been a butcher and a cook, and understood amputations \*. Such was already the progress of the morality professed by the Factious, and preached by their Agents ! the most atrocious acts of barbarity were but acts of civism—of patriotism !

\* See the paper of the *Moniteur* of the 15th of January 1790.

Most of the witnesses examined on the trial of *M. de Favras* gave only vague hearsay evidence respecting the dangers of the King, the advantages that would result from carrying off the Royal Family, the possibility of executing such a plan, and the like. Two persons of the names of *Turcati* and *Morel* were the only witnesses who precisely spoke to any serious facts. The former declared, that *M. de Favras* had communicated to him “ A plan for forming a corps of cavalry, to be composed of the most distinguished persons and most devoted to the King; that *M. de Favras* had commissioned him to raise a body of troops and volunteers, in order to carry off the King, Royal Family, and the Keeper of the Seals; and lastly, that his project was to make use of the horses in the King’s stables for this body of troops, but that *M. de St. Priest* had refused them to him.”

*M. de Favras* denied all these facts, or explained them in the most satisfactory manner. He said, with respect to the horses in the King’s stables, “ That being at Versailles on the 5th of October, he went to the *Oeil-de-Bœuf* in the Palace, and observing

“ serving there a general depression at the  
 “ news that women were coming from  
 “ Paris with cannon, he proposed to *M. de*  
 “ *St. Priest* to furnish him with horses from  
 “ the King’s stables, to distribute them  
 “ among his Majesty’s most zealous ser-  
 “ vants, and to go and take the cannon  
 “ from the women; that *M. de St. Priest*  
 “ going into the King’s apartment made  
 “ him wait a long time, and at last came  
 “ and told him that it was all unnecessary,  
 “ as *M. de la Fayette* was coming from  
 “ Paris with six thousand men to protect  
 “ the Palace.” The truth of this statement  
 was corroborated by the evidence of *M. de*  
*St. Priest*, and the other two facts advanced  
 in *Turcati’s* deposition were absurdities too  
 evident not to create very great suspicion of  
 imposture. *M. de Favras*, a man without  
 fortune, and very little known, had no means,  
 nor was he in any point of view in a situa-  
 tion, to rally around him the most distin-  
 guished persons of the Kingdom: he was  
 neither mad enough to flatter himself that  
 he could, nor fool enough to say it. The  
 pretended commission given to *Turcati* to  
 raise a body of troops and volunteers was  
 not more probable. To levy troops required

funds, and *Turcati* did not say that he had received any money from *M. de Favras* ; so that, if it had been even proved that the latter had spoken what *Turcati* charged him with, common sense could look upon it in no other light than as an extravagant boast or silly jest.

*Morel's* evidence was still more serious, but not less suspicious, than that of *Turcati's*: He deposed, that *M. de Favras* had told him in confidence ; “ that he was  
“ in correspondence with the Provinces of  
“ Artois, Picardy, Hainaut, Lorraine,  
“ Champagne, and Alsace ; that he should  
“ assemble 26,000 Gentlemen from these  
“ Provinces, at Montargis, for the purpose  
“ of effecting a Counter-Revolution ; that  
“ in the mean-time, and to open this grand  
“ business, he was to introduce into Paris  
“ by night 1200 horsemen, divided into  
“ three corps, who were to go to the  
“ quarters of the town where *M. Bailly*,  
“ *M. de la Fayette*, and *M. Necker* resided,  
“ to put them to death, and afterwards  
“ they were to meet in the *Champs Elisées*  
“ to carry off the Royal Family ; that  
“ *M. de Favras*, to prevail upon him to  
“ enter into his views, had told him that

“ he had engaged the Officers and Serjeants  
 “ of the 8000 Swifs in his plan ; that the  
 “ 26,000 Gentlemen were to repair to St.  
 “ Denis, to escort the King to his destina-  
 “ tion, and that he had provided magazines  
 “ of arms and ammunition at St. Ger-  
 “ main’s and the neighbourhood, &c. &c.”  
 This witness on his re-examination farther  
 declared, that he was himself the person  
 whom *M. de Favras* had charged to put  
*M. de la Fayette* to death.

On his examination *M. de Favras* ex-  
 claimed with indignation against all these  
 assertions as false. “ They cannot,” said  
 he, “ prove a single one. I never had any  
 “ connection with any Swifs Serjeant. How  
 “ could I think of assembling 26,000 men  
 “ at Montargis without its being known  
 “ and opposed ? How could I have brought  
 “ them to St. Denis from so many different  
 “ Provinces without their march exciting  
 “ suspicions and alarm upon all the roads,  
 “ and without their being obstructed ? Let  
 “ my denouncers, for these pretended wit-  
 “ nesses are really my denouncers, and as  
 “ such cannot be admitted to give evi-  
 “ dence—but let them point out, however,

“ where those pretended magazines of arms  
“ were, where the 1200 horses, and what  
“ was the place of meeting.”

These two witnesses obstinately refused to make any answer to the questions urged to them by *M. de Favras* in cross-examining them, but persisted in the truth of their deposition. Supposing against all appearances, that *Morel* and *Turcati* were not false witnesses, it is not less certain that the facts spoken to by the one, far from being the same as those spoken to by the other, were absolutely different, and consequently they could not establish any legal proof; for, according to the old criminal jurisprudence of France, which was still adhered to at that period, the testimony of one person was not sufficient; *testis unus testis nullus*. But unfortunately for *M. de Favras* the proceedings were carried on before the public; and he had but too convincing a proof that this new mode, proper perhaps in times of tranquillity, is in times of commotion as favourable to crimes as it is fatal to innocence.—The populace were present—the brigands, exasperated at having seen *M. de Buzenval* set at liberty, and his criminal indictment

ment, converted into a civil action, showed by their threats and howlings that they would not suffer themselves to be so easily deprived of this second victim. These ferocious clamours devoted *M. de Favras* to death: the Chatelet!—condemned him to it!—*M. de Favras* protested his innocence to the last moment of his life; and submitted to his fate with a presence of mind, serenity, and courage so extraordinary, that he excited the astonishment and admiration of all who were present at his execution. History presents few examples of so heroic a death.

While the fermentation in the Capital was excited and kept up by the public Sitings at the Chatelet, the National Assembly were deliberating upon the division of France into Districts, and upon the organization of the Municipalities; and the Breton Club, now become the Club of the Jacobins, extending its powers and its affiliations through all the Provinces, was propagating every where the Revolutionary Fanaticism, and all its fury.

How must it have mortified and grieved the King to see that all the sacrifices to which he had been led by the hope of mak-



ing his subjects happy, produced only commotion, calamity, and crimes; that, instead of the tribute of love and confidence so justly his due, suspicion, distrust and ingratitude were the only returns for his cares and affection; that his most faithful servants were every where the objects of the persecution and hatred of that people for whom he had done so much! His Majesty was particularly affected by the sanguinary cruelty that was displayed against *M. de Favras*, whose only crime was not having sufficiently disguised sentiments, perhaps too wild, in favour of Royalty. It was not easy to find a remedy for so many evils. What was to be done to put an end to so many vexations, so many dissensions; to reconcile such opposite opinions and interests; to moderate on the one hand the Revolutionary enthusiasm, and on the other the resentment and zeal of the Royalists? The Ministers thought, and persuaded the King, that the only means from which he could hope this effect, was to yield frankly and entirely to a Revolution which it was no longer possible to avoid or to stop; to endeavour to supply by popularity the authority and power he had lost, and, for this purpose, to join in a more intimate  
and

and solemn manner in the labours of the Assembly on the new Constitution; in a word, to take the lead in the Revolution, the better to direct it. This hope determined his Majesty to adopt the important conduct in the Assembly which I am now to relate.

On the 4th of February, in the morning, the King by a letter informed the President that he intended to go to the Assembly at noon, and desired to be received without ceremony. The President, however, who had been informed of it the day before, had ordered a chair and carpets. This was approved of by the Assembly, who voted a Deputation of four-and-twenty members to meet the King, and that the President alone should be empowered to speak in his Majesty's presence. The Secretary's desk was removed beyond the bar. A chair covered with purple velvet was put in the place occupied by the President, and a similar piece of velvet was spread as a carpet at the foot of the chair. The President having no seat performed his office standing, till the King arrived; when he went at the head of the Deputation to receive him at the entrance of the Hall, conducted him to the chair appro-

priated for him, and took his place on the right of his Majesty. Repeated applauses and shouts of *Vive le Roi!* resounded throughout the Hall the moment his Majesty appeared. He was attended only by his Ministers and some of his pages. All the members of the Assembly were standing, and the King remaining so likewise delivered the following Speech :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I am come among you, impelled by the serious situation of our Country. The gradual relaxation of all the bonds of order and subordination; the suspension or inactivity of Justice; the discontents arising from private losses; the oppositions, the unfortunate animosities, which are the unavoidable consequences of long dissensions; the critical situation of the finances, and the doubts respecting the public wealth; in fine, the general agitation, all seem to conspire to keep alive the anxiety of the real friends of the prosperity and happiness of the Kingdom.

“ A grand object lies before you, but it must be attained without farther disturbances or new convulsions. I cannot but say that  
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it was my hope to have led you to it in a milder and more tranquil manner, when I formed the design of assembling you, and of uniting for the public welfare the talents and inclinations of the Representatives of the Nation ; but my happiness and my glory are not the less closely connected with the success of your labours.

“ I have, with unremitting vigilance, protected them against the fatal influence which the unhappy circumstances of the times might have over them. The horrors of famine which stared us in the face last year, have been removed by infinite care, in consequence of which there have been immense supplies of provisions. The disorder that might naturally ensue from the old state of the finances, from the sinking of credit, the excessive scarcity of money, and the gradual decay of the revenue; that disorder, at least in excess, has been hitherto averted. I have every where, and especially in the Capital, guarded against the dangerous consequences of the want of work, and notwithstanding the loss of vigour in all the springs of authority, I have maintained the Kingdom, not indeed in the calm I could have wished, far from it,  
but

but in a state of tranquillity sufficient to receive the benefit of a wise and well-ordered liberty: lastly, in spite of our domestic situation generally known, and in spite of the political storms that agitate other Nations, I have preserved peace abroad, and I have continued with all the powers of Europe in those bonds of respect and amity that are likely to render the peace durable.

“ Having thus secured you from obstacles which might so easily have obstructed your cares and your labours, I think the moment is arrived when the interest of the State requires that I should join in a manner more express and manifest, in the execution and issue of all that you have been planning for the good of France. I cannot seize a more suitable occasion than when you present me for my concurrence decrees for establishing throughout the Kingdom a new organization, which must have so important and propitious an influence on the welfare of my subjects, and the prosperity of this Empire.

“ Gentlemen, you are aware, that more than ten years ago, and at a time when the wishes of the Nation were not made known respecting the Provincial Assemblies, I had begun

begun to substitute this kind of Administration in the room of one that had been consecrated by immemorial usage. Experience having convinced me that I was not mistaken in the opinion I had conceived of the utility of these establishments, I have endeavoured to extend the benefit of them through all the Provinces of my Kingdom; and in order to inspire general confidence in the new modes of Administration, it was my desire that the members that were to compose it should be freely appointed by the citizens. You have improved these views in several ways, and particularly by that equal and wisely designed subdivision, which by weakening the effect of the former separation of Province from Province, and establishing a general and complete system of an equal balance, better unites all the parts of the Kingdom in one mind and one interest. This grand idea, this salutary contrivance, is entirely due to you; but unanimity in the Representatives of the Nation, and their just ascendancy over the general opinion, are necessary in order to undertake with confidence an alteration of such great importance, and to overcome with the force  
of

of reason the resistance of habit and private interest.

“ I will use all the means in my power to promote the success of this stupendous organization, on which, in my opinion, the safety of France depends: and I frankly tell you, that occupied as I am with the interior situation of the Kingdom, and having my eyes continually open upon the dangers of every kind with which we are surrounded, I cannot but be fully sensible, that in the present disposition of the public mind, and situation of public affairs, it is necessary that a new order of things should be established calmly and peaceably, or the Kingdom will be exposed to all the calamities of anarchy.

“ Let the real citizens reflect upon it as I have done, by fixing their attention only on the good of the State, and they will find, that even with different opinions they are now urged by a supereminent interest to unite. Time will correct what may remain defective in the laws framed by this Assembly; but every enterprise that tends to shake the principles of the Constitution itself, every design the object of which was to overthrow

overthrow or weaken the happy influence of it, would only serve to introduce amongst us the frightful evils of discord ; and supposing that such an attempt against my people and me should be successful, the result would deprive us of many advantages we have in view from the new order of things, without substituting any thing in their stead.

“ Let us then sincerely indulge in the hopes we may conceive, and let us think only of realising them by unanimity. Let it be every where known, that the Monarch and the Representatives of the Nation are united in one interest and one wish, that this opinion and firm belief may spread a spirit of peace and good will throughout the Provinces, and that all citizens of good character, all who are able to serve the State essentially by their zeal and their talents, may be ready to take a part in the different subdivisions of the general Administration, every link of which should concur efficaciously in restoring the order and prosperity of the Kingdom.

“ We must not deceive ourselves ; much is to be done before we can attain this object. An invariable will, with a general and common effort, are absolutely necessary to insure



insure success. Continue then your labours, unmixed with any passion but that of doing good ; devote your first attention to the lot of the people, and public liberty ; but take pains also to abate, to remove all distrust, and put an end as soon as possible to the vexations which drive so many citizens from France, and the effect of which is contrary to the laws of safety and liberty you would establish. There can be no return of prosperity without general content. We every where perceive hopes, let us be anxious to see happiness also every where.

“ I am fond of believing that one day all Frenchmen indiscriminately will acknowledge the propriety of suppressing entirely the distinction of Order or State, in calling on persons to work in common for the public good, for that prosperity of the Country which concerns all citizens alike ; and every man ought to see without pain, that in future a reputation for talents and virtue will be a sufficient qualification for being appointed to serve the State in any manner.

“ At the same time, however, whatever recalls to the memory of a Nation the antiquity and continuance of the services of an honoured family, is a distinction which  
nothing

nothing can abolish; and as it is connected with the duties of gratitude, those of every class of society who aspire to render their Country essential service, and those who enjoy the honour of having already done so, are interested respecting that perpetuation of titles or remembrances which are the fairest inheritance that men can transmit to their children.

“ Neither can the respect due to the Ministers of Religion be effaced; for, that respect being principally connected with the holy truths which are the safeguard of order and morality, all good and enlightened citizens have an equal interest in maintaining and defending it.

“ No doubt, they who have relinquished their pecuniary privileges, they who no longer form, as heretefore, a political order in the State, will find themselves subjected to sacrifices of which I know all the importance; but I am persuaded their generosity will lead them to find consolation in the public advantages to be hoped from the establishment of the National Assemblies.

“ I too should have many losses to reckon, could I, in the midst of the greatest interests

terests of the State, waste my thoughts on private calculations; but I receive a compensation that is enough for me, a full and complete compensation, in the increase of the happiness of my people, and it is from the bottom of my heart I here say this.

“ I will defend, then, and maintain the constitutional liberty, the principles of which have been consecrated by the general wish in union with mine. I will do more, and in concert with the Queen, whose sentiments are the same as mine, I will early train the mind and heart of my son to the new order of things which circumstances have introduced. I will habituate him, from his earliest years, to place his happiness upon that of the French; and to know, in spite of the language of flattery, that a wise Constitution will preserve him from the dangers of inexperience; and that a just liberty adds a fresh value to the sentiments of love and loyalty, of which the Nation has for so many ages given such affecting proofs to their Kings.

“ I will not for a moment doubt, that in completing your work you will attend with wisdom and candour to the support of the  
Executive

Executive Power, without which neither durable order at home nor respect abroad can be maintained. You can have no reasonable distrust remaining: it is therefore your duty, as Citizens, and as faithful Representatives of the Nation, to secure for the State and Public Liberty that stability which can result only from an active and tutelary authority. You will surely keep in mind, that without such an authority all the parts of your system of Constitution would be destitute at once of connection and harmony; and while you are attending to the liberty you love, and which I love too, you will not forget that disorder in Administration, by introducing confusion in the powers, often degenerates through blind violence into the most dangerous and most alarming of all tyrannies.

“ Thus, Gentlemen, not for me, (for I throw personal interests out of the question, in considering laws and institutions that are to regulate the destiny of the Empire,) but for the happiness of our Country, for its prosperity and its power, I call upon you to dismiss from your minds all impressions of the moment which might divert you from

considering in its whole what such a Kingdom as that of France requires, as well from its vast extent and immense population, as from its inevitable relations and

“ Neither will you refuse your attention to what is also required of you as legislators, by the manners, character, and customs of a nation which has become, from its spirit and genius, too celebrated in Europe to make it a matter of indifference whether the sentiments of mildness and confidence, which have gained it so much reputation, should be supported or altered.

“ Give it likewise an example of that spirit of justice which is the safeguard of property, of that right respected by all nations, which is not the work of chance, or indebted to opinion for privileges, but which is strictly connected with the essential relations of public order, and the foundations of social harmony.

“ Why is it, when tranquillity was returning, that new troubles have broken out in the Provinces? Why is it, that the People there give themselves up to new excesses? Join with me to put a stop to them;

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let us use all our efforts to prevent criminal violences from arising to tarnish these days in which the happiness of the Nation is the business of our minds. Do you, who have such means of influencing the public, convince the People, who are misled, of their real interests ; that People who are so dear to me, and by whom they who would console me for my anxieties assure me that I am beloved. Did they know how unhappy it makes me to hear of unjust attempts against property, or acts of violence against the persons of my subjects, perhaps they would spare me the heavy affliction.

“ While I am speaking of the great concerns of the State, I cannot omit pressing you to attend earnestly and decisively to whatever relates to the re-establishment of order in the finances, and to the tranquillity of an immense number of citizens who are dependent on the public resources : it is time to relieve all uneasiness ; it is time to restore to this Kingdom the credit it has a right to enjoy. You cannot undertake every thing at once ; I therefore invite you to reserve for other times a part of those benefits which

the union of your talents has brought into your view. But when you have added to what you have already done, a wise and reasonable plan for the administration of justice ; when you have secured the foundations of a perfect equilibrium between the revenue and the expences of the State ; in fine, when you have completed the Constitution, you will be justly entitled to the gratitude of the public ; and in the succession of National Assemblies, a succession founded on that very Constitution, it will only be requisite to add from year to year new measures of prosperity to all those settled by you. May this day, on which your King comes to unite himself most frankly and most cordially with you, be a memorable epocha in the history of this Empire ! I trust it will, if my ardent wishes, and my earnest exhortations, be the signal of peace and unanimity. Let those who yet feel reluctant to joining heartily in a spirit of harmony become so necessary, sacrifice to me all their painful recollections, and I will repay them with my gratitude and affection.— Let us all, and I set you the example, profess but one opinion, one interest, one will,  
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an attachment to the new Constitution, and an ardent desire for the peace, happiness, and prosperity of France."

This Declaration, so paternal, so conciliating, excited the liveliest emotion in the Assembly: continued clapping of hands interrupted the King's speech almost at every sentence, and anticipated to his Majesty the sincerity of the gratitude, respect, and love expressed in the President's reply.

The Deputation that attended the King on his leaving the Assembly reported, that the Royal Family had come to meet the King, and that the Queen had addressed the Deputation in the following words: " My  
 " sentiments are the same as the King's,  
 " and I concur with heart and mind in the  
 " step which his love for his People has  
 " now led him to take. Here is my son;  
 " I will talk to him constantly of the vir-  
 " tues of the best of Fathers. I will teach  
 " him early to cherish public liberty, and  
 " I trust he will be the firmest supporter of  
 " it."

The Assembly, who, while their Deputation were attending the King on his return,



had voted an address of thanks to his Majesty, charged the Deputation appointed to present it, to pay the same respects to the Queen, and to assure their Majesties, that all the members had concurred sincerely in heart, sentiments, and affection, to consecrate this union.

It was now unanimously decreed, that all the Deputies should immediately take the civic oath by the call of names, and that those who were absent should not be admitted but on condition of doing the same.—The President ascended the tribune first, and took the oath in these terms: “ I swear to  
“ be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and  
“ the King, and to maintain to the utmost  
“ of my power the Constitution decreed  
“ by the National Assembly, and accepted  
“ by the King.”

As soon as the call of names was finished, the crowd of spectators that filled the tribunes, participating the enthusiasm, rose and took the same oath, amidst the applauses of the Assembly. The motive on which the oath was proposed and adopted, was a hope of extinguishing all dissensions, by rallying all parties in a common engagement  
around

around the Constitution and the King, who had now made himself a part of it.

What good effects might have been drawn from this general union and enthusiasm, had the Ministers known how to have taken advantage of it ! Had the King pointed out more precisely to the Assembly the part he wished them to take, his Majesty might have added at the conclusion of his speech something to the following effect : “ But, “ Gentlemen, it is not in the midst of troubles, of confusion, and of disorder, that “ a new form of Government, of which the “ foundations are not all laid, that a new “ system of Administration and Police, still “ incomplete, can be established with success. If this partial mixture of the old “ and new system were pushed farther, it “ would inevitably lead to the destruction of “ the State, because, in spite of your efforts “ and mine, the calamities and outrages that “ rend this Kingdom daily increase and “ become enormous. Consider then whether “ it be not more advantageous to wait the “ end of your labours on the Constitution in “ all its parts, before you put it to the decisive proof of execution ; whether the “ safety

“ safety of France does not make it neces-  
“ sary for you to maintain in full force the  
“ old laws and the power requisite to have  
“ them executed, till the time when the new  
“ laws, matured by reflection, and form-  
“ ing a whole wisely combined, might be  
“ established at once, without leaving the  
“ least interval to anarchy. Let this im-  
“ portant question be the immediate subject  
“ of your deliberation; you have not a  
“ moment to lose in deciding, for the sal-  
“ vation of the Monarchy depends up-  
“ on it.”

If a request so reasonable had been con-  
certed, as it might and should have been;  
with some of the principal members of the  
Assembly, there is no doubt it would have  
been the grounds of a Decree, at the conclu-  
sion of the famous Sitting of the 4th of  
February; a Decree that would necessarily  
have included the abolition of all Clubs, and  
the suppression of all the National Guard, or  
at least those of provincial towns. The licen-  
tiousness of the press would have been re-  
strained. The jurisdictions of the Provost-  
Marshal, and the Marechaussée would have  
resumed their duty, the troops of the line  
their

their discipline, the Courts their business, the Municipalities their obedience, and, in a word, the old system of powers and subordination would have restored tranquillity, and dispelled the Revolutionary fanaticism. That moment of respite and of calm might have secured a preference to reasonable ideas over wild ones. The Nation, made wise by eight months dreadful experience, might have been induced to desire only reforms as salutary as easy, instead of a Revolution already marked by so many disasters, and of which the termination was enveloped in as much darkness as the consequences. The Assembly itself might have been forced by the public opinion to recede.

Such are the precious fruits that the King might have gathered from the enthusiasm which his conduct excited, had the Ministers who advised it attended more to the effects of it. As the King was reduced to the sad resource of courting popularity for the purpose of recovering some fragments of his power, the use that was to be made of such means should at least have been understood before it was resorted to; and there could not be a more useful lesson  
on

on that head than the example of the *Mirabeaus*, *Barnaves*, *Chapeliers*, &c. whose popular declamations were always followed by an important motion, for which they ensured success. Such motions made the next day, unaccompanied with the patriotic preamble, which might be called their *passport*, would have been rejected. It required no more than one day to efface the impression that had been made by the King's Speech.

In the Sitting of the next day the Assembly applauded indeed the replies of their Majesties to the Addresses of the Deputation, but they applauded mechanically, without emotion; and because they had applauded the day before; there was no longer any thing of the heart in it; yet *M. Malouet* was deceived by it: "I partake," said he, "the satisfaction felt by the Assembly  
"at the account they have just received;  
"but I think that the Sitting of yesterday  
"should not be left without any other  
"trace than that of barren applause. The  
"King's conduct was the result of important motives, and it ought to be attended  
"with important effects; I therefore move,  
"that

“ that the King’s Speech be now read, and  
“ that this Sitting be devoted to the confi-  
“ deration of the principal subjects men-  
“ tioned by his Majesty.”

*To order ! To the Constitution !* resounded from every part of the Hall. In vain did he urge “ that their Constituents in the Pro-  
“ vinces, when they should hear of the in-  
“ teresting scene that had so greatly affected  
“ the Assembly, and should read the King’s  
“ Speech, would be at a loss to conceive  
“ how they could have attended in prefer-  
“ ence to any other subject.” He was answered, that it was concurring in the King’s views to accelerate the division of the Kingdom ; and in fact the Assembly immediately resumed the discussion relative to the division of the Departments into Districts, having first voted thanks to the President for the Speech he had addressed to the King, at the head of the Deputation.

That Speech, sincere when it was spoken, but since so cruelly contradicted by the conduct of the Assembly, is rendered by the King’s melancholy fate an essential part of his Majesty’s history, and is as follows :

“ Sire,

“ Sire, we come to offer to your Majesty  
“ ty the first fruits of your patriotism and  
“ virtues, the oblivion of all dissensions,  
“ the harmony of will, and the union of  
“ private with public interest. The happy  
“ effects of your Majesty’s presence in the  
“ National Assembly were, that the Repre-  
“ sentatives of the French People took a  
“ solemn oath to be faithful to the Nation,  
“ the Law, the King, and the Constitu-  
“ tion, and the crowd of citizens who were  
“ present demanded to be associated in this  
“ august and holy covenant. Why was the  
“ humane, just, and sensible heart of your  
“ Majesty deprived of the affecting sight ?  
“ As we are the interpreters of the Nation’s  
“ wishes, so ought we to be of its grati-  
“ tude. Deign, Sire, to accept the tribute  
“ of it with kindness: the love and confi-  
“ dence of their people are the real treasures  
“ of good Kings. Enjoy these, Sire, and  
“ may the homage of your co-tempo-  
“ raries be an earnest to you of the bles-  
“ sings your memory will receive from pos-  
“ terity !”

The same sentiments were expressed to  
the King in addresses from all the Munici-  
palities

palities of the Kingdom. The Capital added a *Te Deum* and an illumination, and the Assembly voted an Address to the People, urging them to tranquillity.— They thought, no doubt, that that was enough to fulfil the intentions and desires of his Majesty.

That Address, drawn up by the Bishop of *Autun*, was read in the Sitting of the 10th of February, and was a master-piece of deceit and cunning. The author, under pretence of restoring tranquillity in reviving confidence, drew a most artful picture of the conduct and motives of the Assembly, of their labours, past, present, and to come, representing them all as equally worthy of admiration and of gratitude: in short, he seems to have had it much less at heart to second the King's paternal views than to counterbalance in favour of the National Assembly the increase of popularity which his Majesty had acquired in the Sitting of the 4th of February. The Assembly, agreeably surprised at having done so many fine things they did not suspect themselves of, admired their work and its eulogium, applauded with transport the Address, or rather



ther the deceitful panegyric, adopted it almost unanimously, and ordered it to be sent into the Provinces\*.

\* See Appendix, No. vii.

## CHAPTER XXII.

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*Orders forged in the King's Name—Forged Decrees circulated in the Provinces—Insurrections—Provisional Law on that Subject—Its Defects—Injustice and Inconsistency in the Suppression of the Feudal Rights—A Plan for the new Organization of the Army proposed by Alexander Lameth—The Judges at the Chatelet acquit M. de Buzenval, M. de Barentin, and others, of the Charges preferred against them—The Ministers abused on account of the new Pensions granted by the King—Decree—Distress of the People—Memorial on the Finances by Mr. Necker—Another Memorial by that Minister on the Formation of a Treasury*

*Treasury Office—Opposed by the Committee of Finances—Assignats—The Property of the Clergy set up to Sale—Offers of the Municipality of Paris—Compensation for the Gabelle—Suppression of the India Company—Lettres de Cachet abolished—Report on the Compensation for Tithes and all Ecclesiastical Property, and on the future Provision for the Ministers of Religion—A Motion for decreeing the Catholic Religion to be the Religion of the State—Rejected—Popular Commotions—Several Ecclesiastics insulted—The Guard of the Assembly doubled—M. de la Fayette repairs to the Hall.*

THE pleasing emotions of joy and of hope experienced by the Parisians, in consequence of the King's Speech, and of the circumstances that took place in the Sitting of the 4th of February, were rapidly circulated by the public papers throughout the Kingdom: but there was no alteration in the plan of the Factious, whose emissaries continued to overrun the Provinces, to arm the brigands, and constantly excite them to murder, pillage, and burning of houses, by showing

showing them sometimes forged orders of the King, and at others forged decrees.—The Assembly every day learned details of some new outrage, and yet every day their popular orators affected wonder at *the little blood* so fine a Revolution had cost.

At Beziers, the Custom-house Officers appointed to collect the duties, having taken some people at the gates of the town, who were smuggling salt, had fled to the *Hotel-de-Ville* to escape the fury of the populace, who were armed. The Municipal Officers having refused to call in the military, as they ought to have done, according to the decrees, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment quartered in that town, of his own accord, and without being authorised by the Municipality, made the greatest efforts to restrain the brigands, and to engage a Municipal Officer at least to pass the night at the *Hotel-de-Ville*; but his representations were in vain. The doors were forced; the unfortunate Officers of the Custom-house were mutilated in the most horrible manner, and five of them were hanged.

The Ministry sent a Memorial to the Assembly to inform them of this fact, as well

as of disorders that were perpetually breaking out in several Provinces, the continuance of which deeply afflicted the King: they urged them in the strongest manner, on the part of his Majesty, to proceed without delay on the means most proper to put an end to so many calamities, and to reconcile civil with individual liberty, with the safety of persons and property, and with the general support of public order.

This Memorial deserved and obtained all the attention of the Assembly, and was for several days the subject of their deliberations. They were obliged to acknowledge the insufficiency of the measures which they had hitherto adopted for re-establishing order and ensuring its stability. The Municipal Officers appointed to proclaim martial law refused to do it, sometimes through fear, and sometimes through disinclination. Only such decrees were enforced as flattered the ambition or desires of the multitude.—Proclamations and the most eloquent Addresses were without effect: frequently there wants but a phrase to mislead the people and excite them to insurrection—a word to their passions is enough; it is not so with their reason, for it is seldom in the power  
of

of the finest language to lead them back to obedience. Forty-eight thousand Municipalities organized since the new Constitution, formed as many little Republics independent of one another, and without any real dependence upon a superior central authority. The organization of the 83 Departments and of the 535 Districts was now to complete the annihilation of the elements of the old Government, and to substitute a complicated machine of wheel-work, the force of which infinitely surpassed that of the chief spring on which the regulation of its motions was to depend.

Such were the powerful considerations on which those members of the Assembly acted, who proposed, as the only means of restoring order, to invest the King with the dictatorial authority for a limited time, or at least to renovate the Executive Power immediately, and to organize it on its real basis, the Royal authority. *Mirabeau* and his adherents opposed both these motions with all their force. The very word *Dictatorship* made them shudder. As to the organization of the Executive Power, that was, they said, the end of the whole Constitution, and should necessarily be the last result of it ;

the remedy against insurrections was therefore to be sought in the decrees already passed, and particularly in martial law ; and to ensure the execution of that law, it would suffice to settle in what manner the Municipal Officers appointed to proclaim it, should be responsible. Others were for proceeding in the first place to satisfy the people, by suppressing the feudal rights by a Decree that should show them which were to be redeemed, and which were abolished without indemnity. The majority, however, were of opinion, that the discussion of the provisional law relative to the insurrections should be first attended to, and it was decreed on the 23d of February.

This law was more adapted to encourage than prevent insurrections: it made no mention of the King further than to entreat that he would order his Speech, the last Proclamation of the Assembly, and all the Decrees, to be sent without delay to all the Municipalities. It enjoined the Municipal Officers to use all the means which the confidence they enjoyed gave them, for the effectual protection of persons and property, and to proclaim martial law in case of seditious riots. Lastly, it declared that, when any  
injury

injury should be committed by a riot, the Commune should be responsible for it, *if application had been made to them, and if they could have prevented it*, except redress can be had against the authors of the riot, and that the responsibility should be determined by the Courts of the place, on the application of the Directory of the District.

By not fixing either the form in which those applications were to be made, or the cases in which the Communes applied to should be judged to have been able to prevent the rioters from committing an injury, the Assembly clearly indicated to the Communes two means of eluding responsibility, which they employed so successfully, that although insurrections and plundering were not discontinued, it never appeared, at least to me, either by the medium of the public papers or other information, that any one person whose property had been pillaged or burnt had been indemnified.

In clearer and more positive terms were the different decrees drawn up which annihilated the feudal system, and all the honorary distinctions enjoyed by the Lords of Manors : they abolished all the feudal rights



without exception, and without indemnity as to those to which the Lords could not establish a title by a grant of the land. Those only which owed their origin to grants of lands were declared redeemable, and to be maintained till redemption. It would have been more popular, and much more simple, to have suppressed these too without indemnity; and eventually the Lords would scarcely have lost any thing by it, not only on account of the lowness of the sum for the redemption, but because, low as it was, they could not demand it without exposing their property to pillage and fire, and their persons to assassination: consequently the rights declared redeemable have been no more redeemed than those suppressed without indemnity, although the payment of both one and the other ceased at the same time; and when *Robespierre* caused the decree of the 17th of July 1793 to be passed, suppressing all feudal rights whatever without indemnity, he did nothing more than sanction the mode of executing the decrees of the first Assembly.

On that Assembly therefore it is that all the censure and blame which such a robbery merits should fall: they incited it by the  
the

the most unjust decrees, and then they either could not or would not put an end to it.— The abolition of the feudal rights, even could their redemption have been effected, would still have been a shocking injustice; for no power, no legitimate authority, had a right to ordain it. The pillaged Lords may ever argue in the following manner: “ It  
 “ pleased our ancestors to invite families of  
 “ farmers to their domains, and to settle  
 “ them there through kindness, giving up  
 “ a part of their property to them, on con-  
 “ dition of some personal services, and a  
 “ rent twenty times less than the produce of  
 “ the soil granted; and now you are for  
 “ considering those acts of kindness as acts  
 “ of tyranny and lust of gain, and those  
 “ personal services, of which the justest  
 “ gratitude was the principle, as a degrad-  
 “ ing slavery! You are for proscribing a  
 “ system to which the inhabitants of the  
 “ country have been indebted from genera-  
 “ tion to generation for all their means of  
 “ existence! for annulling contracts, the  
 “ justice and humanity of which have been  
 “ consecrated by the experience of so many  
 “ ages; for, if our feudatories had found  
 “ them burdensome, they would not have

“ wanted your help to get rid of them ;  
“ they would have made use of the power  
“ they always possessed of cancelling them  
“ by giving up our lands to us ! What  
“ right have you to strip us of them, or to  
“ compel us to sell them according to the  
“ estimate of the low quit-rent to which  
“ they are subject ? Our fathers would have  
“ left us a far richer inheritance, if they  
“ had leased those very grounds which their  
“ humanity and generosity induced them to  
“ grant out in fiefs. Do you mean that we  
“ shall suffer a penalty for their virtues ?  
“ Unjust and unwise Legislators ! You talk  
“ of comforting the People, yet you are  
“ urging and pronouncing the spoliation of  
“ those who have constantly comforted  
“ them, and you are depriving the poor  
“ of the only means they had of attaining  
“ property \*. Is beneficence then, like re-  
“ ligion,

\* Upon the same principle farmers might have been authorized to redeem the property they rented. Their situation was much more to be pitied than that of feudatories, for the conditions in the lease of a farm were far more burdensome than those of the feudal grants ; the Assembly were therefore inconsistent in not passing a decree in their favour. It is true that the Convention  
amply

“ligion, a sentiment whose energy is to  
 “be increased by persecution and chastise-  
 “ment?”

The discussion relative to the feudal rights was interrupted by different reports on the finances, on the troubles in the Colonies, and the organization of the army.—*Alexander Lameth* being charged with the last, presented a plan, which some young Colonels on the list of his friends, and who were also Deputies, thought admirable; and the Assembly, trusting to their profound knowledge, declared the King Generalissimo of the army, and the citizens of every class admissible to all ranks and degrees. They augmented the soldiers' pay about three-half-pence a day, and that of the Officers proportionably, the difference of arms and ranks observed; and they ordered that the army should take the civic oath annually on

amply repaired that inconsistency, by empowering farmers to pay for their farms in assignats at their nominal value, when they were depreciated eighty and ninety per cent. This is not the only occasion on which the Convention seems to have better understood than the pretended Legislative Assembly, the real spirit of the principles which had been created by the pretended Constituent Assembly.

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the 14th of July. The commemoration of *the great events* which had signalized the same day in the preceding year, being an infallible means of consecrating and perpetuating through the army the remembrance of a rebellion of the deepest dye against the King's authority, was thought as ingenious as patriotic, and consequently loudly applauded.

The Abbé Maury, far from admiring this plan, strongly opposed the leading articles of it. He maintained, that to declare the King Generalissimo of the army was but to make him a General of it; and that, as the Assembly had already decreed that the supreme Executive Power resided in the hands of the King, to be consistent it should be declared, *that the army of France was solely and entirely at the command of his Majesty.* The word *Sovereign* having in the course of the debate unintentionally escaped him in the place of the word *King*, the constitutional ear of *Alexander de Lameth* was exceedingly offended at it. "There are  
" Nations," cried he, "who can believe  
" that they have Sovereigns, but the French  
" have none: they have a King, and I con-  
" fess, it was not without astonishment that I  
" observed

“ observed the Member who spoke last  
 “ completely forgetting the first principle  
 “ we acknowledged and consecrated in the  
 “ most solemn manner, that the sovereignty  
 “ resided in the People.”

The Judges of the Chatelet, having purchased popularity enough on the 18th of February by the condemnation of the Marquis *de Favras*, to venture without danger to absolve some innocent men, acquitted *M. de Buzenval*, *M. Barentin*, *M. d'Autichamp*, *M. de Puysegur*, and Marshal *Broglie*. This judgment excited some popular murmurs, but happily no insurrection. It was observed, that the project of raising an army of 30,000 men having conducted the Marquis *de Favras* to the gallows, the Chatelet ought at least to have punished Marshal *Broglie* as severely, as in the month of July preceding he had really been at the head of that formidable army of 30,000 men, encamped in the environs of Paris and Versailles. But according to the suspicious jurisprudence of Revolutions, men are always thought less criminal for what they have done, than for what they are supposed inclined to do: a past action occasions no more uneasiness, and its heinousness is left

left to be determined by the Courts of Justice; but a project, however chimerical, always alarms or irritates the faction against which it is directed, and then it is either fear or anger that judges, and they are equally severe.

The reduction of the pensions and annual bounties granted by the Court, and the inquiry into the abuses which might have crept into the distribution of them, were at this period an object of public attention, and furnished ample matter to the declamations of the factious and the calumnies of the journalists. The most outrageous epithets were lavished on whoever had a share in those favours; they were depicted as the locusts of the State, as the leeches of the Nation: but it was particularly against the unknown pensioners, who were inscribed on the secret register called the *Red Book*, that the declaimers inveighed most bitterly. *Camus* the Deputy, Reporter to the Committee charged with the consideration of this subject, had obtained a decree to be passed, ordaining that the payment of the pensions should be deferred till the Assembly were made acquainted with the reasons for which they were granted, and had decided upon  
their

their legality. As this decree did not deprive the King of the power of giving new ones, *M. de St. Priest* had thought he might dispense with applying for the orders of *Camus*, in dispatching those which his Majesty had thought it just to grant to some Officers who had been employed at the Bastille; but he made it known to the Committee, and informed them of the reasons that had induced the King to grant those new bounties. *Camus*, transported with rage, denounced this circumstance to the Assembly as an enormity which must make them shudder. He complained very bitterly of the repugnance shown by the Ministers as to the communication of the *Red Book*, often applied for by the Committee, and as often promised in vain.

On this Report the Assembly decreed on the 5th of March, that no new pension could be granted without their express authority; and that the President should wait upon the King, to entreat him to forbid all his Ministers, and other agents of his authority, to present new orders or creations of pensions to him; and to enjoin them to deliver to the different Committees of the Assembly, upon their first application, the



vouchers that shall be required of them, and particularly the *Red Book*.

The public distress seemed to increase in proportion to the fetters placed on the King's authority and beneficence. The Assembly were informed that the city of Paris alone contained a hundred and forty thousand poor; and *M. Freteau*, commissioned to inquire into this calculation, attested in the Sitting of the 5th of March, that their number amounted to ten thousand in two Districts, the statements of which had been communicated to him by the respective Presidents.

The Royal treasury was also daily sinking to a very alarming ebb. *Mr. Necker*, deceived in all his calculations and all his hopes, found his health as well as his credit declining; but his pen had not yet lost any of its fertility. On the 6th of March he sent in a Memorial to the President, which on account of the state of his health was much too long for him to read to the Assembly himself. He observed, that this Memorial referred to the 20th of February, and requested indulgence for the work, *which his situation had not permitted him to retouch.*

The

The Minister showed in this Memorial, that the delays and difficulties attending the payment of the duties and imposts, the supplying of the deficiency in the returns on the Gabelle, the restoring the balance between the revenues and expences, and the renewal of anticipations in the year 1790, had produced, between the 1st of January and the 20th of February, a *deficit* of forty-four millions; that the extraordinary expences, of which the greater part related to the providing of corn, would amount during the same period to seventeen millions—the total deficiency therefore was fifty-eight millions for fifty-one days; and he calculated that which would result from the same causes in the course of the subsequent ten months of the year at two hundred and ninety-four millions. “On viewing,” said he, “the necessities of the public treasury, you must either sink under the weight of the difficulties, which certainly you will not do; or adopt an expeditious and general remedy, such as issuing an excessive number of State bills, or fall upon a plan of agreement, arrangement, and abatement, which in default of all other extraordinary resources may bring

“ us, without too great a confusion, to a period of perfect re-establishment of order in the finances.”

On the latter hypothesis, the following is the manner in which he pointed out each article of resource applicable to the ten subsequent months of that year :

	Livres.
1st. Money in bank on the 1st of March - -	10,000,000
2d. Balance on the eighty millions to be received from the <i>Caiffe d'Escompte</i>	28,000,000
3d. Reduction of expences in the ten months -	30,000,000
4th. The twentieths of the Clergy - -	9,000,000
5th. Renewal of the anticipations - -	60,000,000
6th. Prompt payment on the collections made by the Receivers-General -	15,000,000
7th. Gifts and patriotic contributions - -	30,000,000
8th. Loan to be made in the course of the year -	30,000,000
	<hr/> Liv. 182,000,000. <hr/>

	Livres.
Brought over - -	212,000,000
9th. Delaying to increase the funds appropriated to the annuities, and by postponing to the end of the year, on an amicable composition, the payment of the dividends on several objects - -	50,000,000
10th. Delays, or payments in bills at a date to run, for different expences -	30,000,000
	<hr/>
Total	Liv. 292,000,000
	<hr/>

Mr. *Necker* then discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the conversion of *Affignats* into paper-money. "Such notes," said he, "the purport of which would incessantly bring to mind the reality of their object and their term, would in this point of view have an advantage over the notes of the *Caisse d'Escompte*, of which the mortgage on the extraordinary funds is neither directly nor habitually present to the mind; they would also recall, in a more constant and general manner, the interest which the citizens have in

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“ the prompt and advantageous realising of  
“ the property designed for the redemption  
“ of the bills admitted as money into circu-  
“ lation ; and many happy consequences  
“ would result from the evidence of that  
“ interest : nor would the new notes par-  
“ take in the discountenance which the ene-  
“ mies of the *Caisse d’Escompte* had brought  
“ upon that establishment ;—though indeed,  
“ on the other hand, they would not enjoy  
“ that portion of credit that depends on  
“ habit, the influence of which cannot  
“ be thoroughly estimated. But a more  
“ important consideration is, that the ex-  
“ tinction of the Assignat paper-money by  
“ the extraordinary bank, would necessarily  
“ be slower than that of the *Caisse d’Es-*  
“ *compte* notes, inasmuch as the former  
“ could not operate till such time as the  
“ produce of the annuities or redemptions  
“ should be really thrown into the extraor-  
“ dinary bank ; whereas the gradual extinc-  
“ tion of the *Caisse d’Escompte* notes would  
“ take place from the moment it negotiated  
“ assignments, at a fixed date, on the Re-  
“ ceiver of the extraordinary funds.”

To these disadvantages was added that of  
issuing any kind of paper-money whatever,  
in

in such quantity as to satisfy all the wants of the public treasury. Mr. *Necker* did not conceal this danger, but represented that a sum of two or three hundred millions of paper-money, joined to that of one hundred and sixty millions, the present amount of the *Caisse d'Escompte* notes, formed an alarming total. "It is," added he, "more incumbent than ever to go on in every thing gradually, to keep always close to opinions and events, to employ daily circumspection, to oppose every difficulty separately, to enter as it were into a composition with all obstacles, and to use patiently a great variety of means. You must have seen, by those which I have pointed out, that such a plan, necessarily a mixed one, will for some months longer render the administration of the finances infinitely complicated—in short, that it will be requisite to leave it a degree of liberty which you will perhaps be uneasy to see placed in the hands of a single person. But he who from the month of August 1788 has struggled with so many obstacles, and has endeavoured to steer the storm-beaten vessel into port, wishes more than any other person to

X 2

" lighten

“ lighten his burden, and diminish his re-  
“ sponsibility, not towards the King, not  
“ towards you, or the Nation, but towards  
“ a censor still more rigid, towards himself.  
“ It doubtless requires great ardour to un-  
“ dertake such a task, which I am aware  
“ will be replete with toil and anxiety ; but  
“ that reflection cannot discourage me, be-  
“ cause my mind is still wholly bent on the  
“ public concerns. In my eagerness to devote  
“ and sacrifice myself, I could feel bold enough  
“ to answer alone for the whole extent of  
“ the task, if, in requiring associates of you,  
“ I did not consider a project the utility of  
“ which will be experienced at all times,  
“ and which will be still more completely  
“ appropriated to the new constitutional  
“ order you are establishing. This project  
“ should consist in a Committee to be insti-  
“ tuted by the King, for the administration  
“ of the public money ; a Committee who  
“ should undertake what I am now under-  
“ taking ; that is to say, that with the ap-  
“ probation and by the authority of his  
“ Majesty they should fix all the daily ex-  
“ pences, determine all the modes of pay-  
“ ment, inspect all the receipts, and in short  
“ direct

“ direct the whole business of the treasury  
“ without any exception or reserve: and  
“ the Commissioners of the treasury should  
“ in future be alone the King’s Ministers for  
“ that department. I do not mean, Gentle-  
“ men, to withdraw myself by the institu-  
“ tion of which I am speaking to you; it is  
“ not in stormy weather that I shall quit  
“ the vessel. The King feels the advan-  
“ tage of choosing from the Assembly most  
“ of the Members of this Committee: but  
“ for this purpose it will be necessary for  
“ you to depart in some measure from the  
“ decree you have passed, obliging the  
“ Members of your Assembly to accept no  
“ place under Government during the pre-  
“ sent Sessions. I should think the princi-  
“ ple of that decree not applicable to the  
“ present case. On this occasion, it is ra-  
“ ther a painful burden to be laid on those  
“ whom the King shall appoint to the ac-  
“ tive and permanent Committee of the  
“ Treasury, than a favour or benefit to be  
“ conferred on them. Of whatever import-  
“ ance general principles may be, there are,  
“ however, occasions in which the Legis-  
“ lature, swayed by the welfare of the  
“ State, should consent to some modifica-  
“ tions.



“ tions. To the important considerations  
“ which I have laid before you, I will add  
“ one, to which you will attach what value  
“ you please. The weak state of my health  
“ will oblige me, in the course of the summer,  
“ to go and drink the waters; and I  
“ cannot answer that I shall recover sufficient  
“ strength to devote myself again to  
“ the labour and uneasiness which have  
“ preyed so much upon me. You may  
“ think it proper then to allow me time to  
“ be useful by my experience, and while I  
“ have strength and zeal, to those who are  
“ perhaps one day to succeed me entirely in  
“ the administration of the finances.”

The surplus of the usual expences over the fixed revenue, or the *deficit*, which was fifty-six millions at the opening of the Assembly, was increased twelve millions one hundred thousand livres: namely, ten millions for the amount of interest and the redeeming funds appropriated to the loan of eighty millions opened in the month of August preceding, and two millions one hundred thousand livres for paying off the annuities granted to the *Caisse d'Escompte*, in lieu of three millions five hundred thousand livres, which was paid to it annually as interest

interest at five per cent. of the capital of seventy millions advanced to the Royal treasury in 1787 by the stock-holders.

For this *deficit* of sixty-eight millions of livres, Mr. *Necker* found nearly a balance in the following heads :

	Livres.
1st. The proceeds of subjecting the ecclesiastical property to the payment of the twentieths, and the discontinuance of the subscriptions of the Princes and some other persons relative to that tax	9,000,000
2d. The saving of the sum which the Royal treasury paid annually to the Clergy's fund	2,500,000
3d. The annuities, extinguished in 1789	1,500,000
4th. The savings or reductions on the expences, valued at	52,000,000
Total	<u>65,000,000</u>

Mr. *Necker* concluded this Memorial with very circumstantial observations on the

means of paying off the arrears of the Departments, amounting to one hundred and fifty or two hundred millions ; on the different taxes ; on a substitution for those which should be, or those which were already suppressed ; on the different expences which might be assessed on the provinces ; and, in short, on all the measures that could tend to restore the balance between the receipts and expences.

This Memorial, which was sent to the Committee of Finances, was soon followed by another, in which Mr. *Necker* confined himself to combating the grounds on which it was said the Assembly would deny their consent to any of their Members being chosen for the Treasury-office : but in spite of the sentimental effusions and all the compliments with which these two Memorials were seasoned, the Committee of Finances rejected most of the means proposed by Mr. *Necker*, and adopted that which he deprecated—I mean the conversion of Assignats into paper-money. They proposed to issue four hundred millions of them, bearing an interest of five per cent. as well for the purpose of meeting the extraordinary expences, as for paying off the  
one

one hundred and sixty millions to the *Caisse d'Escompte*; and to appropriate to the payment of the Assignats the price of the estates of the Clergy and of the domains, four hundred millions worth of which should be immediately put up to sale. The Marquis *de Montesquiou*, the Reporter of the Committee, maintained, that the Minister was mistaken in his calculations; that he had exaggerated the necessities and under-rated the resources\*; that the admission of the Members of the Assembly to the office or Committee of the Treasury, was irreconcilable with the important decree, the principle of which was to place an insurmountable bar between the centre of power and the centre of the law; that the choice made by the Court would always be induced by intrigue; and besides, the responsibility of the Ministers would cease to be entire if it were participated by the Members of the Assembly.

It was certainly very easy to accelerate the frightful emission of four hundred millions of Assignats, but not so easy to promote the sale of the estates by which their payment

\* Mr. Necker a few days after published a long Memorial refuting this assertion.

was to be secured. In times of tranquillity, of confidence, and prosperity, the most legal sale of so considerable a mass of property would in France have required years to be effected; but in times of trouble, penury, and general disorganization, the idea of finding a sufficient number of moneyed men so imprudently avaricious, so shamelessly dishonest, as to risk their funds in purchases radically bad, and thus to render themselves accomplices in the most unjust and scandalous plunder, must be regarded as the most chimerical of fancies. What right, in fact, had this Assembly to make over to the Nation, or cause to be sold, any property whatever without the consent, without the express authority of the proprietors? And what property was there in France that rested on so ancient a possession as that of the Clergy, or on titles more authentic and respectable?

The National Assembly, supposing it legally invested with the plenitude of legislative power, might no doubt have declared that such estates as the Clergy should acquire in future should be at the disposal of the Nation; but it was evidently out of their power to extend such a decree to estates

tates in possession for many ages under the protection of all the existing laws. It was violating and totally overturning legislation, and the protecting principles of all property; to enact so monstrous a law; which could only be suitable to a nation composed of robbers, to whom all they could forcibly lay hold of belonged, by the same right that the purse of the traveller belongs to highwaymen. When *Robespierre* guillotined the rich land-holders to assign their estates to the disposal of the Nation, he did no more than draw a very accurate deduction from the principle that had been established by the first Assembly relative to the Clergy. But allowing that this decree were as just as it was atrocious, and even considering the estates of the Clergy to have been really and legally the property of the Nation, it certainly did not follow that the Assembly could lawfully sell the smallest part of them without being specially authorised to do it by the most formal instructions from their Constituents. Now, far from the Nation's having given such powers to their Representatives, the electors had unanimously expressed in all their instructions the most explicit wish that the security of property should

should be respected ; and at the time of the union of the Orders, that of the *Tiers-Etat* had solemnly promised to be constant to that wish : of course, ideas of the invalidity of such titles rose every where against the sale of the estates of the Clergy, and a general persuasion prevailed that there would be no purchasers, when the Municipality of Paris hastened to remove all difficulty on the occasion. Four days after the Report of the Committee of Finances, and previous to any Decree upon it, they sent an Address to the Assembly, in which they offered themselves as agents between the Nation and the moneyed men ; and desired to purchase estates of the Clergy to the amount of two hundred millions, according to a valuation to be made of them. They offered in payment one hundred and fifty millions, payable in fifteen instalments of ten millions each every year, so that the whole would be paid in fifteen years, and bearing an interest of four per cent. They asked for their trouble and the use of their credit the fourth of the produce of the sale of the estates which would remain in their hands, after having disposed of a sufficient quantity to raise one hundred and fifty millions. They announced, that as soon as these preliminaries were settled

bled they would attend to bidders on the price of the valuation to be made, and that they had already received considerable overtures.

These means, as fallacious as they were apparently expeditious for accomplishing the sale of a large portion of the property declared to be National, had moreover the merit of beginning the actual spoliation of the Clergy; and the Assembly therefore did not hesitate to adopt them. They decreed, after a debate of two days, “ That the Demeſnes  
 “ and Eccleſiaſtical Eſtates, the ſale of  
 “ which they had ordained on the 19th of  
 “ December laſt, to the amount of four  
 “ hundred millions, ſhould be immediately  
 “ diſpoſed of to the Municipality of Paris,  
 “ and to ſuch other Municipalities of the  
 “ Kingdom as it might ſuit to purchaſe  
 “ them: that for this purpoſe the Aſſembly  
 “ ſhould appoint twelve of their own Mem-  
 “ bers Commiſſioners to ſettle peremptorily  
 “ with thoſe who ſhould be elected by the  
 “ Municipality of Paris for the purpoſe of  
 “ chooſing and valuing the eſtates to be ſold to  
 “ them, to the amount of two hundred mil-  
 “ lions, at the prices, charges, and on the con-  
 “ ditions which ſhould be finally arranged;  
 “ and moreover, at the charge of the Muni-  
 “ cipality



“ cipation of Paris, to make over to the  
“ other Municipalities, at the same prices  
“ and on the same conditions; such por-  
“ tions of the aforesaid estates as might suit  
“ them: and lastly, that notwithstanding  
“ the term of fifteen years demanded by the  
“ Municipality, the Commissioners of the  
“ Assembly should exert themselves to pro-  
“ cure the speediest payments possible, and  
“ a general liquidation; and that for this  
“ purpose the Municipalities should be  
“ bound to put the said estates up to sale  
“ without the least delay, and to sell them  
“ as soon as ever a purchaser should bid  
“ for the said estates the price fixed by the  
“ valuation of the surveyors.”

• The Abbé *de Montesquiou* urged in vain the justest objections against this Decree:  
“ You have already decreed,” said he, “ that  
“ no sale of the estates of the Clergy should  
“ be made, except upon the plan of the De-  
“ partments: wait then for that plan; the  
“ demand of a Commune cannot take place  
“ of it. It is of much more importance to  
“ begin by a definitive Decree respecting  
“ the tithes: you have decreed their sup-  
“ pression with a compensation; the sup-  
“ pression has already taken place, although  
“ you

“ you have as yet decided nothing as to  
 “ their compensation. If you give them  
 “ up to the landlords, and make over the re-  
 “ mainder of our property to bankers and  
 “ stock-jobbers, what is to become of Reli-  
 “ gion and its ministers, of the poor, and  
 “ the creditors of the Clergy ?” These  
 representations were scarcely attended to,  
 and the Decree was passed just as I have re-  
 ported it.

It was entirely then the intervention of the  
 Municipality of Paris that ensured credit to  
 the Assignats, and brought on the imme-  
 diate spoliation of the Clergy ; for the De-  
 cree which completed it, was passed a month  
 after that by which this first sale was di-  
 rected.

In the intervening time the Assembly de-  
 termined upon a substitution for the Gabelle,  
 and in its place laid a general tax, to be as-  
 sessed after a certain rate, on the already ex-  
 isting taxes. They suppressed the India Com-  
 pany, and declared the commerce beyond  
 the Cape of Good Hope free to all French-  
 men. They also decreed the abolition of  
*Lettres de Cachet*, and ordered, that all who  
 were detained in prison, by virtue of war-  
 rants from any Agents whatever of the  
 Govern-

Government, should be set at liberty in six weeks at farthest. "If any thing can affect us," cried *Robespierre* pathetically, "we must regret having sat six months without having yet pronounced the liberty of those unfortunate victims of arbitrary power—it is better to pardon a hundred guilty persons than that one innocent man should suffer." As the principles cited in support of this Decree applied equally to all arbitrary arrests and detentions, *M. d'Epresmenil* moved to set all those at liberty who had been deprived of it by warrants from the Permanent Committees, and Committees of Inquiry; but the motion was too anti-revolutionary to be adopted, and was scouted. The unlimited power of imprisoning at will was a valuable means, which nothing could replace, of supporting or awakening opportunely the alarms of the people on the pretended plots of the Aristocrats.

The first Sitzings of the month of April were spent in long speeches and debates on the new organization of the judicial power: the courts, magistrates, laws, forms and in short, every thing was to be changed; and the having been a part of the old system was

in itself sufficient grounds for rejecting the wisest institutions. The Clergy had to struggle not only against this phrensy of innovations, but against the jealousy and covetousness excited by their riches. The Committee appointed to consider of the means of a compensation for tithes was composed of members taken from the Ecclesiastical Committee, and from those of Agriculture, Finance, and Taxation. They united all their plans relative to the Clergy, and formed from them one general project, of which a Report was made to the Assembly in the Sitting of the 9th of April. It comprehended not only the compensation for tithes, but also for all ecclesiastical property, the new organization for the future, and the support of the present Clergy. The number of Archbishops or Bishops was reduced in it to eighty-three; that is, to one for each Department. The stipend of the Archbishop of *Paris* was to be settled at 50,000 livres; that of the Archbishops and Bishops in towns where the inhabitants amounted to above one hundred thousand souls, at 25,000 livres; above fifty thousand souls, at 15,000 livres, and all under that number at 10,000

livres. With respect to parish priests, their stipends were fixed at 2000 livres in parishes containing above two thousand souls; at 1500 livres in those that contained above one thousand souls; and in those under one thousand souls at 1200 livres. The general stipend for curates was fixed at 700 livres, besides a parsonage-house, which was to be provided for them as well as for the parish priests. These dispositions were relative to the future Clergy. As to the present incumbents, the Committee proposed to leave the Archbishop of *Paris* 100,000 livres; the Bishops who had more than 15,000 livres, and the parish priests who had more than 1200 livres, the half of what they enjoyed, in addition to these sums. In a word, the total expence of divine worship, including the stipends of its ministers to the number of forty-eight thousand, the pensions of the friars and nuns, the necessary succours for the hospitals, colleges, seminaries, &c. and the expences of erecting and repairing buildings, was fixed at 133,884,800 livres. The plan of the Committee was to add the raising of this sum to the general contributions, at the same time suppressing tithes,

and placing in the hands of the Nation, under the administration of the Departments, Districts, and Municipalities, the whole amount of ecclesiastical property, freed of all charges and mortgages by adding the debts of the Clergy to the general mass of the debts of the State.

This plan was applauded with ecstacy by the Factious, whose views it answered; by the stock-jobbers, whose speculations it favoured; and by the plunderers of every class, to whom it promised an ample booty. This general spoliation, the atrocity of which the hypocrisy of the Philosophers thought to palliate by calling it the *expropriation of the Clergy*, was said to be the cornerstone of the Constitution, and to restore religion to its primitive purity, by confining the minister to his duties, who was often diverted from them by the trouble of his harvest, his calculations and cares of a nature purely temporal.

The interests of religion and its ministers were defended with as much dignity as eloquence and solidity by several Deputies of the Clergy, and particularly by the Bishop of *Nanci* and the Archbishop of *Aix*. The latter, at the conclusion of his speech, re-

newed, in the name of his Order, the solemn offer of a loan of 400 millions, to be decreed and levied by the National Assembly, secured by mortgage on the property of the Clergy, who should pay the interest, and also the principal, by sales gradually made according to the canon and civil forms.

This loan, which could very soon have been filled, would not have prevented the sale of the portion of the domains of the Crown which was to be alienated, and those two means together would have produced about 600 millions—a sum infinitely above all the wants, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the public treasury. But, however solid these resources might be, the Assembly did not hesitate to reject them; they were not sufficiently revolutionary.—At the same time, it is not less true, that the Clergy, in proposing to add so considerable a sacrifice to that which they had already made of all their privileges and pecuniary exemptions, consulted their ability less than their zeal for the support of Religion and the Monarchy. This generous offering, and the refusal it met, will both descend to posterity, the one a glory to the Clergy of France, the other the shame and  
con-

condemnation of the majority of the Assembly. Never can the stain be washed out, of having, by this procedure, sacrificed the safety of the State to the sacrilegious hope, to the preconcerted plan of overturning the Altar as well as the Throne. Every species of hypocritical sophistry and atrocious art was practised by those pretended philosophers, to get rid of the pious motion which was made in the same Sitting, “ that a Decree should be passed, importing that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion was and should ever remain the religion of the Nation, and that its form of worship should be the only one authorised.” The majority of the Nobility applauded this motion, and desired it might be put to the vote. It was not less applauded by that large and pure portion of the members of the Clergy, who would have thought nothing of the sacrifice of all their property, had this consolatory Decree been the price of it,

“ God forbid,” said *Charles de Lameth* for the *Côté-Gauche*, “ that we should oppose a sentiment that pervades every heart in this Assembly ! I will only observe, that

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“ the



“ the motion now proposed to you can but  
“ serve to spread doubts respecting the reli-  
“ gious opinions of the Assembly. Have  
“ we not manifested them sufficiently by  
“ taking morality and religion as the basis  
“ of all our Decrees ? Have we not founded  
“ the Constitution upon the brotherly love,  
“ the good-will towards men, the consoling  
“ equality so much recommended by the  
“ Gospel ? The Assembly have, to use the  
“ words of Scripture, ‘ put down the  
“ mighty from their seat, and exalted the  
“ humble and meek ;’ they have taken un-  
“ der their protection the weak, and the  
“ people whose rights were not understood ;  
“ they have, in short, realised for the hap-  
“ piness of men those words of JESUS  
“ CHRIST himself—‘ the first shall be last,  
“ and the last first :’ they have realised them ;  
“ for certainly they who held the first ranks  
“ in society, and possessed the first offices,  
“ will possess them no more.”

This evangelical pathos, imitated from the *Tartuffe* of *Moliere*, would not have prevented the motion from being adopted that day, had it been put to the vote ; but more than thirty speakers desiring to be heard

heard besieged the tribune, and as it was then half past five o'clock, the general and always powerful eagerness to go to dinner caused the debate to be adjourned to the next day.

The Faction employed the intervening time successfully in setting to work their popular means of influencing the decision; and their Agents, exciting the animosity of the populace against the members of the Order of the Clergy, marked them out for their threats and insults under the name of *Calotins* \*. It was imprudent for any one to appear at the Tuilleries or *Palais-Royal* in the ecclesiastical garb. This popular fermentation rose to so alarming a height, as to determine the Municipality to double the guards next day at several posts, and particularly that at the National Assembly. General *La Fayette*, whose military functions now hardly allowed him to fulfil those of a legislator, thought it, however, incumbent upon him to repair that day to the Assembly, —whether it were to support the opinion of his party, or to dispel the alarms which the agitation and clamours of the people that surrounded the Hall were well calculated to

\* *Calotte* is a part of the clerical dress.

excite. But the many questions that were put to him, proved very clearly that his presence had not removed the apprehensions of any person. "The Assembly are not free," cried *M. de Foucault* several times—"They are not free," said he, "because we are permitted only to propose amendments, without asserting our opinion on the necessity of the profession of genuine faith in favour of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion. Surrounded by the people and soldiers under arms, we are not free, because an appearance of this nature is only fit to spread terror, and fetter the sentiments of men. Why this crowd of people?—Why these soldiers?" added he in the very terms *Mirabeau* used in the month of July preceding, in his motion for the removal of the troops. "I move that it be immediately decreed, that in future the meetings of the National Assembly shall be fixed at three leagues distance from the quarters of the troops, or that they may not approach nearer without being expressly required by the Assembly so to do."

Amidst the murmurs created by this motion among the *Coté-Gauche*, *M. de la Fayette*

*Fayette* ascended the tribune, and calmly replied, that in doubling the Citizen Guard, with which the Assembly had deigned to be attended, he had only obeyed the orders of *M. Bailly*; but that there was no danger to be apprehended, and he was happy to be able to say, that there was not a man of the National Guard who was not ready to shed the last drop of his blood in maintaining the execution of the Decrees of the Assembly, the freedom of its debates, and the inviolability of the persons of all its members.

None of the speakers in favour of acknowledging the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion as the religion of the State could obtain any attention. Only the opposers of that motion were suffered to speak, and the debate was closed as soon as they were heard. A motion from *M. de Menou*, and more emphatically drawn up by the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, having obtained the priority, was put to the vote and carried in these terms :

“ The National Assembly, considering  
 “ that they neither have nor can have any  
 “ power over the consciences or religious  
 “ opinions

“ opinions of men ; that the majesty of  
“ Religion, and the profound respect due  
“ to it, should prevent its becoming the  
“ subject of a debate ; considering that the  
“ attachment of the National Assembly to  
“ the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman wor-  
“ ship could not be suspected at the very  
“ moment when that worship was going to  
“ be placed by them in the first rank of the  
“ public expences, and when, by an unani-  
“ mous impulse of respect, they had ex-  
“ pressed their sentiments in the only man-  
“ ner that can be suitable to the dignity of  
“ Religion and the character of the Na-  
“ tional Assembly, resolve, that they neither  
“ can nor ought to come to any determina-  
“ tion respecting the proposed motion, and  
“ that they will resume the order of the  
“ day relative to the ecclesiastical tithes.”

At the opening of the Sitting next day several Ecclesiastical Deputies complained of having been insulted and ill-treated in the streets, and at the entrance of the Thuilleries ; but they were not even listened to. Satisfaction for outrages suffered by the members of the Clergy was not the order of the day ;  
but

but the spoliation of them was which was determined that day by the adoption of the four first articles of the Decree proposed by the Committee.

After securing so immense a mortgage for the Assignats, the Assembly soon decreed, that they should have the currency of money throughout the whole Kingdom, and be received as cash at all banks, public and private. They reduced to 3 per cent. the interest of 5 per cent. allowed for them by the Decrees of the 19th and 21st of December, and fixed the first amount to be issued at 400 millions. They declared at the same time, that the debts of the Clergy were held to be National, and that the public treasury should be charged to pay the interest of them and the principals.

Thus was completed, in the name of the Nation, that general *expropriation* of the Clergy, or rather that immense robbery which was the certain fore-runner of the fate of all the property of the Kingdom.

When we consider the progress of the Revolution, and all the subversions it has effected, we are tempted to think that it was the result of an uniform plan, as vast as profound; and that it had been constantly directed

rected by the same men, from the conformity in the means and dexterity in using them. From the spoliation of the Clergy was to spring the abolition of the Catholic worship; and the degradation of Royalty was to produce the Republic: it was by the means with which the former always threw a veil over the latter, that the Altar and the Throne were to be subverted. Yet they were innovators divided among themselves, enemies to one another, and having different views, who all concurred, without a previous understanding, in the execution of a plan which none of them had formed, and which no one had even dared to conceive.—

The Duke, *de la Rochefoucault*, and many other economists and philanthropists, with intentions which they believed pure, opened the breach through which *Rabespierre* and *Marat* were to rush; and some parish priests, who had no other object than to attain ecclesiastical dignities, and increase their income by diminishing that of the high Clergy, recruited the Revolutionary army, which was destined to overturn their own parsonages as well as the palaces of their Bishops. The People, whose name was borrowed to attack all the ancient institutions

tions both civil and religious, were by their ignorance, as well as their impetuosity, the blind instrument of all the horrid events, the object of which was carefully kept from them; for they would have exterminated, not the Aristocrats, but the Revolutionists, if they had been let into the secret. These were well aware of the danger; and it was to avoid it, that in the Sitting of the 2d of November 1789, instead of proposing at once the spoliation of the Clergy, they spoke only of the advantages of a better division of the property of the Clergy, and of the certainty of obtaining them by declaring it at the disposal of the Nation, whose mind might be made known respecting it by resolutions in the Departments.— It was not till they had laboured for five months to mislead the public by every manner of means, that they dared to take one step more, and to propose to invest the Administrations of the Departments, or of the Districts, with the management of the ecclesiastical estates. The intention of alienating them was by no means made known, and the People were always made to understand that it was not a thing to be thought of till they



they had been consulted in all the Communes. It was in this sense that the insidious report of the Committee, and the plan for a Decree they presented were drawn up. The debate was closed, and the question was going to be put to the vote, when *M. Malouet*, perceiving the snare, suddenly unveiled it by moving, that before the different articles of the Decree were passed the principal question should be put in these terms :

1st, Shall the incumbents be deprived of their benefices?

2dly, Shall a territorial endowment be preserved for the churches and the poor of France?

This motion instantly produced in the Assembly a very decided opinion against the peremptory spoliation, not only among the members of the *Coté-Droit*, but on the part of a great number of Deputies of the popular party, who not being in the secret of the leaders of the Revolution, were always ready to separate from them when they were shown an imminent danger which they had  
not

not perceived, or a mischief which they had no intention to do. "That is not the question," cried the speakers of the *Côté-Gauche*; "there are some who wish to deceive you, and to deprive you of the great means of credit which is offered to you by the simple mortgage of the estates of the Clergy; the question is not about the spoliation either of the poor or of the churches: this is a snare of the Aristocracy, &c. &c."

Vociferations, insults, and a dreadful tumult, prevented *M. Malouet* and all the members of the *Côté-Droit* from making themselves heard; they were not even suffered to speak; and the Decree proposed by the Committee, supported by the clamours, menaces, and clappings of the galleries, obtained the majority—and the more easily, as the sensible part of the Deputies of the Clergy took no share in the decision: but still it would have been rejected by a majority, had not its definitive object been so formally disavowed. The same might be said of almost all the Decrees which have produced the principal events of the Revolution. So true is it, that this political hurricane, which arose from the breaking loose  
of

of all the passions, and even from the love of good, collected and strengthened itself with their motions, whichever way impelled, central or divergent, and violently combined them all in its devastations.

At this crisis an insurrection broke out at Lisle, which was the more remarkable, as it laid open the plan formed for the disorganization of the army, and the means employed for that purpose in all the garrisons of the Kingdom. The four regiments that formed that of Lisle, *La Couronne*, *Royal-des-Vaisseaux*, *Colonel-General*, and the *Chasseurs de Normandie*, were living in perfect concord among themselves, and with the inhabitants, and remained obedient to their Officers. The arrival of some Revolutionary Emissaries, and particularly *St. George*, the Mulatto, who was attached to the Duke of *Orleans*, very soon disturbed this happy harmony. It chanced that a soldier of the regiment of *La Couronne* was killed in fair fighting by one of the *Chasseurs de Normandie*; and this was represented to the comrades of the former as an assassination, for which they ought to take revenge. The regiment *Royal-des-Vaisseaux* took the part of that of *La Couronne*, and  
the

the regiment of the *Colonel-General* sided with the *Chasseurs de Normandie*. The 7th of April being the day fixed upon to decide the quarrel, several soldiers of three of these regiments went out of the town to a spot agreed upon. But the Officer who commanded the regiment of the *Colonel-General* having detained them in the citadel, the battle was postponed till the next day. The Marquis *de Livarot*, who at this time had the command in Flanders, in the absence of Prince *de Robeck*, gave orders that the four regiments should return to their quarters, and empowered them to send a deputation to him next morning at seven o'clock, consisting of two soldiers from each company, to lay their respective grievances before him ; which was done. The meeting was at first violent : however, after a long debate it was agreed that the past should be forgotten, and that a sincere and general reconciliation should take place. The deputed soldiers all engaged for the sincerity of it upon their word of honour. At that moment of effusion and confidence they voluntarily and unanimously denounced five public-houses, in which they were provided with liquor gratis, and which were so many centres of

discord and rebellion. *M. de Livarot*, happy at having restored order and peace in the garrison, proposed to the deputation to go with them to the quarters of all the regiments to tell them of this good news. The proposal was received with rapture: they went out with him carrying him in triumph, and at the same time acclamations of joy echoed through the town. Three of the regiments appeared at first extremely disposed to accept the peace; which was not the case with the fourth, the *Royal-des-Vaisseaux*.—*M. de Livarot* heard seditious expressions from them of a very alarming nature. About noon anonymous notes announcing treachery were dispersed in the different quarters. The soldiers, greatly enraged, formed several groups on the *Place d'Armes*. Those belonging to the regiment of *La Couronne* and the *Royal-des-Vaisseaux* having their muskets, forced by the guard, went out of the town, fired in the suburbs on the soldiers of the two other regiments, and running to the arsenal forced the gates of it.—*M. de Livarot* immediately flew thither, re-inforced the post, and saved the arsenal, but not till fifteen muskets and eight hundred cartridges had been taken out of it.—

At the same moment, hired emissaries went to the different quarters, talking of treachery, and advising the soldiers to take care of their General, who, they said, had only brought about this pretended reconciliation to cause all the citizens to be murdered.—The prudent measures taken by *M. de Livarot*, and his activity, prevented a general battle ; but he could not prevent the partial skirmishes of armed platoons as they met one another. Eight soldiers of the *Colonel-General* and of the *Chasseurs de Normandie* were killed on this day, and about fifteen men wounded, almost all belonging to these regiments. Enraged at this loss, they assembled in the citadel, with the resolution of going out armed to engage the two other regiments in a general battle. *M. de Livarot* was no sooner informed of it, than he hastened thither to endeavour to appease them, and to send them to their quarters. He went into the citadel alone, but had scarcely begun to speak when his ears were assailed with furious shouts: he was insulted and abused in the most violent manner. Two blows were levelled at him with a bayonet: the first did not reach him, but the second knocked out two of his teeth.

“ Hang him ! hang him ! ” cried they ;  
“ we are betrayed ; the General ordered that  
“ we should be fired upon. ” Exasperated  
at so atrocious a charge, *M. de Livarot*  
seized the soldier who uttered it by the col-  
lar, told him he lied, and challenged him to  
maintain it against him sword in hand. This  
brave and noble impulse, which *M. de Li-  
varot's* rank and his white hairs rendered  
more remarkable, made the most advan-  
tageous impression on all the soldiers ; they  
no longer talked of hanging their General,  
but only of *securing his person without  
doing him any harm*. He was first confined in  
a room in the citadel, under a guard of fix-  
teen soldiers, and afterwards removed with  
the same guard to the house of the *Lieute-  
nant de Roi*. From that moment the sol-  
diers acknowledged no authority but that of  
a Committee which they established, and  
the members of which they chose from  
among themselves. This pretended Com-  
mittee, not knowing how to get rid of *M. de  
Livarot*, took the resolution of deputing four  
soldiers to the National Assembly for their  
orders. In short, after a confinement of  
nine days, *M. de Livarot* left Lisle, upon  
an order from the King enjoining him to  
1 come

come and give an account of his conduct. He underwent the strictest examination in the Assembly, who, finding nothing to blame, merely passed to the order of the day. The King, more just, bestowed on the Marquis *de Livarot* the praise which his zeal, prudence, and devotion to his Majesty's service merited. But the only punishment that the situation of affairs suffered to be given to the four seditious regiments was their removal to another garrison. No inquiry was made respecting the persons who defrayed the expences of the soldiers in the five public-houses denounced, and the fact, which was attested by the whole garrison of Lille, was considered by the Municipality as an ungrounded charge.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

*Of the Red Book.*

THE publication of this *Red Book*, long expected and always designed as a monstrous memorial of the mal-practices and speculation of the Ministers, was at length announced. Mr. *Necker* was exceedingly astonished at it, and the more so, as the Deputy *Camus*, who had written to him in the name of the Committee of Pensions for a communication of this Register, had assured him in the most positive manner, that it was not the intention of the Committee to feed a vain curiosity, by divulging circumstances the publicity of which might be productive of any uneasiness to the King.

King. The Minister, a few days after, complained bitterly of this breach of their word, to the members of the Committee, who had gone to him to ask for another register, and reproached them with having had the Red Book printed without authority either from the King or the Assembly. “As  
 “for the Assembly,” replied *Camus*, “it  
 “is to them alone we owe an account of  
 “the motives by which we have been  
 “guided: as to the King, we are not his  
 “Representatives, and we owe him no ac-  
 “count of the Commission deputed to us  
 “by the Assembly.”

It was extending confidence to a great length to depend upon the promises of such a man as *Camus*. What fidelity, what sentiments of honour could be hoped from that monster of ingratitude, who, while he owed his very existence to the Clergy, by whom he had been long employed as counsel, and was very largely paid, gloried in figuring amongst the most violent of their d and in displaying his dull and brutal insolence against them?

The Red Book was a register in folio, bound in red morocco. The ten first leaves contained the expences under the reign of

*Louis XV.*; those that had been ordered by *Louis XVI.* were inserted in the thirty-two leaves following; and the rest of the register was blank. Each article of expence was written by the Comptroller-General, or the Minister of the Finances, and checked by the initial letter of the King's signature. Every change of Administration was marked in this Register by a resolution, written sometimes by the King, and sometimes by the Minister, with the King's signature at length.

The first communication of the Red Book was made to the Committee of Pensions at Mr. *Necker's*, before *M. de Montmorin*, on the 15th of March in the afternoon. Mr. *Necker* having declared it to be the King's desire, that no notice should be taken of the expences entered into under his grand-father, the Committee began the perusal of the book with the first article of the reign of *Louis XVI.* which was the item of a sum of 200,000 livres distributed among the poor on the death of the late King. The part of the Register which referred to the reign of *Louis XV.* was sealed up within a strip of paper when it was sent to the Committee of Pensions. That slight barrier was

was respected much more through policy than through any consideration for the King. They had no interest in rendering the Ministers of *Louis XV.* odious, and it was to be feared that a comparison of their Administration with that of the Ministers of *Louis XVI.* being entirely in favour of the latter, would counteract the effect proposed by the publication of the Red Book. It would have produced none, if it had been printed exactly; but after a most minute examination of all the articles of this famous Register, the Committee not finding in it any of those scandalous prodigalities which they had been incessantly reporting, impudently put in practice every dishonest resource to mislead opinion. They printed but a very slight sketch of the Red Book, to which they prefixed an Introduction every sentence of which was an atrocious imposture.

In this Introduction they say—" The  
 " Red Book is not the only Register which  
 " contains proofs of the covetousness of  
 " men in favour. The continual labour to  
 " which the Committee devote themselves,  
 " discovers to them a multitude of proofs  
 " of

“ of other depredations, which they will  
 “ successively make known. At a moment  
 “ when the Nation is exerting itself to  
 “ establish order and economy in the Fi-  
 “ nances, to alleviate the burdens of the  
 “ People; at a moment when the People  
 “ are carrying with confidence a share of  
 “ their pittances to the public treasury, they  
 “ should not be left ignorant that the amount  
 “ of the private orders for money (*ordon-*  
 “ *nances de comptant*) contrived to cover an  
 “ infinity of expences which could not be  
 “ avowed without shame, were as follows;

	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>Liv.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
“ in 1779	116,176,562	14 7	—in 1781	91,971,413	17 6
“ in 1782	87,143,428	2 9	—in 1783	145,438,131	19 9
“ in 1784	111,714,986	14 9	—in 1785	136,684,828	5 2
“ in 1786	87,958,401	6 7	—in 1787	82,913,075	16 1
“ The whole amounting to				860,000,828	17 2

This violent declamation in the Introduction to the Red Book, which had nothing to do with the *ordonnances de comptant*, was certainly extremely misplaced: but it was still more unjust, and totally unfounded; for, so far were the *ordonnances de comptant* from being contrived to cover expences which dared not be avowed, that they were chiefly employed

ployed in discharge of the usual and indispensable public expences. In fact, the Receivers-General discharged different expences in the Provinces, for the work-houses of the poor; for houses of correction; for remittances or indemnities on casualties; for epidemical diseases of the cattle; for the expences of the Intendant's Offices; the deficiencies in the taxes, or indemnifications granted to the Provinces; accoutrements of soldiers; charges of arming, &c. &c. The discharge of these expences was verified by the Intendants, and the Receivers-General were reimbursed for them by those *ordonnances de comptant*; which was deemed necessary to spare the Chamber of Accounts the minute detail of an immense number of receipts, some of which might have been deficient in those strict formalities required in that Court. The *ordonnances de comptant* were also employed for paying the interests of the securities or funds in advance of various Companies of Finance; the interest of the debts of the old India Company; the interests and costs on moneys taken up by anticipated payments, and for several loans made on account of the Royal Treasury by the States of the Provinces.—

Lastly,

Lastly, it was by these *ordonnances de comptant* that the *Fermiers Généraux* were reimbursed the funds remitted to the payers of the annuities for their service, and which the *Fermiers Généraux* threw into the Royal Treasury, for the purpose of their being delivered to the payers of the annuities.

The account of the Keeper of the Royal Treasury, who paid these orders, was settled by the King himself in his Council of Finances, composed not only of his Ministers, but of several Counsellors of State. A statement was drawn up before them, called *the cash acquittance*, (*acquit de comptant*), to the amount of the sums paid by virtue of the *ordonnances de comptant*. This statement was examined with the orders themselves, and signed by the King and the Ministers immediately after the examination.—The King ordered the Chamber of Accounts to allow the Keeper of the Royal Treasury, for disbursements, a sum equivalent to the amount of this statement, the correctness of which he certified. The *ordonnances de comptant* there mentioned were deposited at the Louvre, to be preserved and exhibited as occasion required, and there was not one  
which

which did not express the reasons for which it had been given.

The Committee had been informed of all these circumstances, and some of their members had even gone to the Louvre to examine the *ordonnances de comptant*; it was therefore with their eyes open that they took advantage of the ignorance of the public to criminate a form of Administration which could have nothing in it reprehensible, and which had the merit of rendering the audit of the Royal Treasury more simple and expeditious. One might have supposed, on hearing the declamations of the Committee, that the Chamber of Accounts was a high National Court authorised to discuss and controul whatever expences were ordered by the Administration; whereas, on the contrary, it was a mere court of audit, established by the Monarch to receive and settle in the King's name, and for his ease, the accounts of the Receivers and Treasurers of the Royal moneys and of the revenues of the State; and it was for this reason that they admitted without examination the vouchers which the King had taken the pains to examine himself in Council, such as the *cash acquittances* (*acquits de comptant*).

“ It



“ It will be necessary,” add the Committee in their Introduction, “ to expose  
“ to the view of the Nation the audacity of  
“ the Ministers, one of whom, loaded with  
“ the King’s favours, and enjoying stipends  
“ and pensions to the amount of 98,622 li-  
“ vres, after having obtained, on the 26th  
“ of March 1785, pensions for ten of his  
“ family, after having added an eleventh  
“ pension to that list, granted to a relation  
“ whom he had forgotten before, preferred  
“ also, on the 4th of September 1787, the  
“ following petitions : for an hereditary  
“ Duchy, with an annuity of 60,000 li-  
“ vres, 15,000 of which to be settled on each  
“ of his two children, and a sum of money  
“ down to assist him in arranging his af-  
“ fairs. Another, while he took the ho-  
“ nour with the public of receiving only  
“ half the pension of 20,000 livres usually  
“ granted to the Ministers, petitioned, on  
“ the 26th of November 1788, for a dis-  
“ charge of 100,000 livres, a sum for  
“ which he was debtor in his own depart-  
“ ment out of the moneys committed to  
“ his direction; and gave as the ground of  
“ his petition, that his predecessors had ob-  
“ tained almost every year gratuities to  
“ the

“ the amount of from 80 to 100,000 li-  
 “ vres.”

Marshal *de Segur*, who was alluded to in the first of these charges, repelled it with force and dignity in the following letter, which he caused to be inserted in several of the public papers :

“ I have never answered pamphlets or li-  
 “ bels. My age, rank, services, wounds,  
 “ and the esteem of the army, were in my  
 “ eyes a sufficient defence against injustice  
 “ and calumny ; but I have observed in the  
 “ public papers, and heard cried in the  
 “ streets, a work entitled *the Red Book*,  
 “ and signed, to my great astonishment, by  
 “ the Committee of Pensions, although  
 “ neither the King nor the National Assem-  
 “ bly had ordered or permitted the print-  
 “ ing of it. As the expences in that book  
 “ had no reference either to myself or any  
 “ belonging to me, I could not have ima-  
 “ gined that I should have been unjustly  
 “ cited in it by men who ought to have re-  
 “ spected me, and for favours *which were*  
 “ *not granted to me*. My whole life is the  
 “ only answer I shall give to these indecent  
 “ charges :

“ charges : yet I think it proper to inform  
“ the public, that the relations whom I am  
“ accused of having enriched by pensions, are  
“ ten poor gentlemen of my name, who  
“ themselves and their whole family served  
“ the King, and most of whom had not even  
“ the necessaries of life. No other Mini-  
“ ster but would have thought it right to as-  
“ sist them ; and being their relation was  
“ no reason why I should be unjust towards  
“ them. The whole sum that was divided  
“ among all those Officers was a pension of  
“ 6000 livres : let the public judge whether  
“ that was excessive or not. As to the im-  
“ putation cast upon me for having on my  
“ own authority given a pension to an  
“ eleventh relation, it is a falsity. I never  
“ granted any thing during my Administra-  
“ tion, which I am bold to term irre-  
“ proachable, without the King’s order or  
“ approbation. I appeal without fear to  
“ the testimony of a Monarch whose can-  
“ dour and virtues are well known. I did  
“ not expect, after having shed my blood,  
“ and sacrificed my fortune for my country,  
“ that any one would have dared to have  
“ upbraided me with the King’s favours as  
“ a crime, much less with those which he  
“ might

“ might have been willing, but which he  
 “ was not able to grant me. I wish, for the  
 “ sake of my country, that my detractors  
 “ may be of as much use to it as I have  
 “ been. This wish shall be all my reply  
 “ and all my revenge.”

There was no less injustice in the imputation of covetousness cast upon the other Minister, who having obtained no gratuity during his Administration, and consenting to receive only the half of the pension of 20,000 livres, which he had a right to expect on retiring, petitioned to be dispensed with reporting a sum of 100,000 livres, which he had received in advance out of the funds of his department. But besides, supposing this petition a thousand times more reprehensible than in fact it was, it had not been granted by the King. No mention was made of it in the Red Book, more than of the *ordonnances de comptant*, or of the hereditary Duchy and the pension petitioned for, but not obtained, by Marshal *de Segur*; it is therefore very evident that the Committee of Pensions, by filling their Introduction to that Register entirely with calumniating declamations, which were entirely

foreign to it, had no other object than that of seizing an occasion which appeared very favourable to publish a libel against the Ministers.

To give an air of moderation to this indecent composition, in order to procure for it the more credit, the Committee had inserted great eulogiums on the strict economy of the King in every thing relating to his own affairs or personal gratifications, repeating his words—"There is no hurry"—"Good, provided it occasion no new expences."

The conclusion of this Introduction is too remarkable to be passed over in silence—the words are, "The King's wishes for the relief of France shall not be disappointed. The Nation cannot but with great satisfaction perceive, that by suppressing in future all indiscreet gifts, and by ceasing to be prodigal in order to be always generous, it will diminish the bulk of expences perhaps *one-fifth yearly*." It would have been difficult to push imposture and buffoonery farther; and to be satisfied of it, we have only to cast our eyes on the sketch of the Red Book as drawn up by the Committee themselves, and printed at the end of this Introduction. That

sketch makes the total of the sums entered on the Red Book from the 19th of May 1774 to the 16th of August 1789 amount to 227,985,716 *liv.* 10s. 1*d.* This sum divided by the fifteen years and three months leaves for each year fourteen millions nine hundred and forty thousand and upwards.—To avoid fractions, let us average the year at fifteen millions, and suppose that all the expences for which this sum was employed could have been suppressed, the saving that would have resulted from it on the bulk of the expences of the State, which amounted then to near six hundred millions, could not have been a fifth; it would have been at most three per cent. This mistake is too enormous not to give grounds for suspicion of dishonesty in those who committed it. I will not, however, dwell on this, lest I should be accused of treating the Committee of Pensions with too much severity; but I shall be less indulgent to much more serious errors which they have committed knowingly, the proofs of which I shall now state.

The skeleton of the Red Book published by the Committee is divided into ten chap-

ters: the first contains the sums given by the King to his brothers, amounting to 28,364,211 *liv.* 13*s.* 6*d.* This sum divided by fifteen years and three months was not *communibus annis* two millions a year; and, had the Assembly not interfered, it would have been considerably reduced, in consequence of the payment of the debts of the Princes, and of the improvements they had made in the administration of their revenues. I am willing, nevertheless, to leave to the Committee all the honour of the entire suppression of this article.

The gifts and gratuities make up the second chapter, the amount of which is 6,174,793 *liv.* 19*s.* 10*d.* Among other articles were the following:—A remittance made by the King to his aunts, being the purchase-money for the Palace of Bellevue, 754,337 *liv.* 15*s.*; for payment of the debts of the Princess *Christina*, 150,363 *liv.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; the price of her pearls, diamonds, and trinkets, bought by the Queen, 158,993 *liv.*; a sum granted by the King to *Montgolfier*, for the construction of a new aërostatic machine, 40,000 *liv.*; and two orders payable to bearer, of 20,000 *livres* each, for two  
of

of the three years of assistance granted to the Countess *de Lameth* for the education of her children:—40,000 *livres*. Although the sum total of the expences reported in this chapter amounted to 6,174,793 *liv. 19s. 10d.* yet many of them, and particularly those I have mentioned, were not of a nature to be continued. The income of the King's aunts, though very small considering their rank, was managed with such order and economy that it would have exceeded their wants, had not their bounties and alms constantly kept an exact balance between their expenditure and their receipts. The Princess *Christina*, being dead, had no longer any debts to pay, or diamonds to be sold; and although the education of the young *Lameths* cost the King much more than he had a right to expect, it is certain that it was no longer at the expence of the public money\*.

I am

\* I ought, for the accuracy of the fact, to add, that although the conduct of the *Lameths* in the Assembly and at the Jacobin Club entirely secured them from the suspicion of being sold to the Court, they hastened immediately after the publication of the Red Book to remit to the Royal Treasury the 60,000 *livres* that had been drawn from it for their education. I shall not inquire



I am ready, however, to suppose still, that the zeal of the Committee alone could effect the suppression of all the expences of the nature of those which form this chapter as well as the following one, which amount to 2,221,341 *liv.* 13s. 4d. arising from pensions and stipends.

The fourth chapter stated the King's alms, and the sum total was 254,000 *livres*. The extraordinary alms had nothing in common with those which the King gave every day from his own private funds, and they were too moderate to be charged with prodigality: this expence then could not bear any reduction.

The fifth chapter presents the indemnities, advances, loans, placing of money, and arrangements of accounts; and the total is 15,254,106 *liv.* 12s. 2d. But the advances, loans, placing of money, and arrangements of accounts, which engrossed the greater part of that sum, could not be placed in the number of expences. The indemnities only ought to be ranked in that class, and the

whether the restitution of this money was dictated by ingratitude or not, but content myself with observing, that it was imperiously demanded by justice.

different

different articles of that nature contained in this chapter amount only to 377,526 *livres*. These indemnities were bounties granted in return for expences incurred for the King's service. These the Committee considered as indiscreet gifts; and should we allow with them that they deserved that insolent epithet, yet it will still be true that the only possible saving as to the expences contained in this chapter was reduced to 377,526 *livres*.

The sixth chapter is entitled *Purchases and Exchanges*; it does not clearly appear why, for there is no mention made in it of a single exchange. The ten articles of which it is composed all relate to the following purchases:—1st. The rents and revenue of Clermontois; 2d. the Palace, Park, and Lordship of L'isle-Adam; 3d. the Forests of Lamors and Floranges; 4th. the Duties of Excise of Vendome, and Salt of Brouage; 5th. the Woods of the *Maison* Estate; 6th. some Duties of Excise in the Province of Anjou; 7th. the House of Beaujon. The sum total of the expences reported in this chapter amounted to 20,868,821 *liv. 2s. 9d.* However convenient these purchases, it would perhaps have been better to have post-

poned all of this kind till more prosperous times, and the King had made no new ones since the year 1789; but those which had been completed were neither indiscreet gifts nor prodigalities: they had produced an increase of the revenues of the State, and the suppressions announced by the Committee could not apply to the expences comprised in this chapter.

The affairs of Finance, the sum total of which amounted to 5,825,000 *livres*, are the subject of the seventh chapter. This sum had been entirely employed in reimbursing the expences of the extraordinary service in Finance, that is to say, the interest of temporary loans obtained by the Keepers of the Royal Treasury, on their credit, to secure payments that could not admit the delays which often happened in collecting the revenues of the State. The censures of the Committee did not apply to the expences of this nature; and the saving they were capable of, always depended on the punctuality of the Treasurers and Receivers in gathering the taxes, and in remitting the amount of them to the Royal Treasury.

The eighth chapter is the most remarkable, comprising the expences of the Department  
for

for Foreign Affairs, the secret transactions of the Posts, and other matters : the total of those expences amounts to 135,804,891 *livres*.—According to the old forms of making up the accounts of the department for foreign affairs, the expences were divided into two classes ; the one included the stipends of the Ambassadors and Ministers at foreign Courts, the Minister's offices, and expresses of extraordinary Messengers, and was discharged by orders mentioning the object of the expence, and in the same manner as the expences of the other departments : this class amounted, *communibus annis*, from the commencement of the reign of *Louis XVI.* nearly to the sum of 2,775,000 *livres*. The other class included subsidies paid to foreign powers ; reimbursements of advances made by the King's Ambassadors and Ministers in the places where they resided ; expences of a first establishment at the times of changing ; secret expences fixed at the sum of 200,000 *livres*, which often appear in the Red Book under the denomination of expenditure of the Minister for foreign affairs, although individually they did not concern him at all ; and lastly, all the other expences relative to this

this department, which from their nature, or the circumstances attending them, were not considered as proper to be submitted to the examination of the Chamber of Accounts.

This latter class varied according to circumstances. During the American war it amounted, one year with another, to the sum of nine or ten millions. There was no very sensible diminution at the peace, because, in the years that immediately followed, the department for foreign affairs was charged so far down as 1788 to pay annually a sum of 2,400,000 *livres*, to liquidate the balance remaining due on the purchase of *Rambouillet*.

It is the expences of this class that are found mentioned in the Red Book, and in this chapter, first quarterly and then yearly. There is also another article that returns twice a year, and which is inserted under the following title: *In consequence of Political Arrangements*. This article was not comprised in the expences of foreign affairs, because it was the result of an arrangement which *M. de Calonne* had been authorised to conclude directly with the King of Sweden,

Sweden, during the residence of that Monarch at Paris. *M. de Vergennes*, then Minister for foreign affairs, had only signed the agreement which settled the conditions of the subsidy which the King granted to his Swedish Majesty. The department of the Finances was charged with the payment of this subsidy, which was 1,200,000 *livres* payable half yearly, and which continued five years; in the last year of which only, by an arrangement made with the Archbishop of *Sens*, the expence was carried back to the department for foreign affairs. That of the Finances was likewise charged with a sum of 4,500,000 florins, payable in Holland, and mentioned in this chapter for the year 1787. These two articles, though relative to foreign affairs, made no part of the expences of that department.

It appears from these particulars how absurd the reports were concerning the pretended immense subsidies in favour of the Court of Vienna, which had neither received nor pretended to any since the year 1763, those excepted which had been stipulated previously, and the last of which was paid in 1769.

The

The secret business of the Posts, also included in this chapter, amounted to 300,000 *livres* a year, and for the last two years to 330,000 *livres*, including the expences of the office: the Comptroller of the posts was charged with these. I was very intimate with the Baron *d'Ogny*, who filled this office during the whole reign of *Louis XVI.* and an honefter man never existed.

Notwithstanding the inconveniences attending the secret expences in Administration, and although they subject the manager of them to suspicions and calumnies, against which he can only oppose his integrity, there are circumstances in which it is absolutely necessary to have recourse to them: chiefly for the maintenance of the police of great towns; but likewise in the department for foreign affairs, and in the administration of the posts, this is an indispensable means; and, in spite of the foolish remarks of the vulgar, immense savings have always been the object, and generally too the result, of these secret expences. It is frequently by these that the most important negotiations have been brought to a successful issue; war averted, and peace accelerated.

The usual and secret expences stated in  
this

this chapter were therefore susceptible of no reduction but such as would be injurious.—

*M. de Montmorin* had on this head given the most circumstantial information to the Committee of Pensions, who had also received from *Mr. Necker* the most satisfactory explanation on all the articles of the Red Book relative to the Finances. Thus, had those Gentlemen been desirous of informing the public and of appeasing the violent fermentation excited by all the stale stories repeated against the Red Book, nothing would have been easier; but it was not truth, it was delusion they wished to propagate, and their Introduction is but a web of falsities.

The ninth chapter of the sketch of the Red Book is entitled *Sundry Expences*. It includes the secret expences of the police; the purchases of books; linen given to the prisons; an advance of 250,000 *livres* as a loan to one of the Directors of the new India Company for his share of the funds; 728,600 *livres* for an assignment ordered by his Majesty, relative to interest of various kinds in commercial affairs; the extraordinary expences occasioned by the birth of  
the



the Dauphin, of the Duke of *Normandy*, and of Madame *Sophia*, and the expences of the King's journey to Cherbourg, which cost only 148,000 *livres*. The sum total of the expences reported in this chapter amounts to 1,794,600 *livres*. The Committee did not dare to find fault with any of these; consequently they saw in them neither prodigality nor indiscreet gifts to suppress.

Lastly, the tenth chapter contains the personal expences of the King and Queen, amounting in the whole to 11,423,750 *liv. 8s. 6d.* The Committee, without entering into the detail of the articles that made up this sum, only observed that a great part of it had been laid out in purchasing funds. "I know  
" not whether the books of the Finances  
" of any Sovereign in Europe can shew a  
" similar total," said Mr. *Necker* on this occasion, in the observations which he published on the Introduction to the Red Book. In answer to the personal censure the Committee of Pensions had cast upon him for giving a preference to favourites, while he forgot the poor and the unfortunate in distress—he opposed *the sentiments of the one, and the affection of the other, throughout his*

*his life.* “ Surely,” added he, “ it does  
 “ not belong to those who are yet in their  
 “ apprenticeship of public virtues, to take  
 “ upon them to teach me in what manner  
 “ to hold the balance between the laws of  
 “ justice and the duties of humanity. A  
 “ very grand idea must be formed in the  
 “ Assembly of the unknown pleasures and  
 “ concealed delights which accompany the  
 “ administration of public affairs, to ima-  
 “ gine that the Ministers are a peculiar spe-  
 “ cies of Citizens, to be pulled to pieces at  
 “ leisure, and tormented at will! Yet if the  
 “ State were to gain any thing by all these  
 “ attacks, there is not one of us but would  
 “ add without pain this sacrifice to many  
 “ others. But I do not see what could be  
 “ better than a perfect harmony, and a con-  
 “ stant agreement towards the same end ;  
 “ therefore, it is not without painful re-  
 “ flections that I look forward with hope to  
 “ the day when I shall in turn leave the  
 “ stage to others. I do not, however, wish  
 “ them such painful moments. I know  
 “ better than any other how far I am use-  
 “ ful to the public ; *and I shall know too*  
 “ *the moment I cease to be so.* Let me  
 “ then

“ then be trusted on this account, and let  
“ unjust hatred have a little patience. A  
“ sense of virtue, the same which brought  
“ me back from the foot of the Alps, still  
“ retains me till the approaching failure of  
“ my strength.”

Mr. *Necker's* friends were greatly affected by these complaints ; but his enemies saw in them only his everlasting vanity, and laughed at them. I shall but observe, that the pathetic style ought never to be resorted to against base calumniators ; they should be attacked and felled to the ground with the club of truth. Nothing could be more easy on this occasion ; for the sketch of the Red Book published by the Committee, and of which I have given here a very exact statement, evidently proved the falsity of the principal assertions contained in the libel called an Introduction, which was prefixed to it. How in fact could the advocate *Camus*, the most inveterate of the members of that Committee, have been able to reply to the following observations ?

You have stated, that the suppression of the prodigalities and pretended indiscreet gifts exposed by the publication of the Red  
Book

Book would diminish the bulk of the expences a fifth every year. But the only expences that can admit these epithets are those which, in the sketch you have given of that Register, form the three first chapters, and some articles of the fifth. All the others are public or indispensable, though secret; such as those of the eighth chapter: now those of the first chapter amount to a sum total

	<i>Liv.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Of - - -	28,364,211	13	6
Those of the second to	6,174,793	19	10
Those of the third to -	2,221,341	13	4
Those of the articles of the same nature con- tained in the fifth chapter to - -	337,526	—	—
<hr/>			
<i>Liv.</i>	37,137,873	6	8
<hr/>			

Do you pretend, against the evidence, against the very statement of your sketch of the Red Book, that all those expences were prodigalities: — that *Louis XVI.* never granted a single favour in the whole course

of his reign which was not an indiscreet gift? Even on this illiberal supposition it was still necessary to divide the total of those expences into fifteen years and three months. This division would leave an expence of 2,435,270 *livres* and some *sols* for each year. See then to what would be reduced the total of those suppressions which you boldly assert in your Introduction would make a saving of *near a fifth in the bulk of the expences of each year*; whereas it is evident that it would at most amount to the two hundredth part.

I thought it my duty to enter into all these details relative to the Red Book, on account of the scandalous light in which it was placed by its publishers \*, and of the atrocious calumnies which have been the consequences of it. Were the charges that appear the best supported by the Factious

\* The Committee was composed of the following persons: — the Marquis de Montcalm-Gozon, Baron Felix de Wimpfen, de Menou, Freteau, L. M. de Lepeaux, the Abt  Expilly, Camus, Goupil de Prefeln, Gautier de Biauzat, Treilhard, Champeaux-Palafuc, and Cottin.

against

against the old Government, which they wanted to overthrow, examined as narrowly, they would almost all prove to be founded on the grossest impostures.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

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*Debate and Decree relative to the limited Powers given to several Deputies—Some of them declare their Intention of vacating their Seats—Debate on the Organization of the new Judicial Power—Appearance of a War between England and Spain: the King informs the Assembly of the Measures he had taken on this Occasion—Important Debates—Decree—Debate on the Delegation of the Right to make War and Peace—Decree which decides this grand Question conformably to a Motion made by Mirabeau.*

THE powers which several of the Deputies had received from their Constituents were to terminate in the beginning of May, which

which was now near at hand. : On this subject the following questions, doubtless very important yet also very simple, arose for the determination of the Assembly :

Would not the vacancies left by those Members, by making the National Representation incomplete, render the Assembly incompetent? Should not the Bailiwicks which had appointed them be assembled anew, in order to send other Members in their stead, or to give them more extended powers? Have the Assembly, or rather those Deputies who had received unlimited powers from their bailiwicks, a right to extend the powers of their colleagues beyond the term fixed in their instructions, and to free them from the oath which they had taken to be faithful to them?

The Assembly decided these questions in the Sitting of the 19th of April, according to the opinion of the Committee of the Constitution. " It is no doubt an incon-  
 " testible truth," said the Reporter, (*Chapelier*) " that all Sovereignty resides essentially  
 " in the Nation, and that it can recall  
 " when it pleases the powers it has dele-  
 " gated ; but this principle cannot be ap-  
 " plied in the present circumstance. It  
 B b 3 " would



“ would be to destroy the Constitution, to  
“ alter the Assembly appointed to form it  
“ before it is finished. Commissioned by  
“ our instructions *to examine the Constitu-*  
“ *tion*, we were created by the People *the*  
“ *Constituent Assembly*. We have begun  
“ the Constitution; our duty is to finish it,  
“ and the Nation by repeated acts has con-  
“ firmed our power. It would perhaps be  
“ impossible at this time to undertake  
“ elections in the Assemblies that are going  
“ to be formed; for no Department is yet  
“ in a state to determine the number of  
“ Deputies to be returned by it, the calcu-  
“ lation on which the proportion is to be  
“ founded not being yet made. Several  
“ Deputies have limited powers, and it  
“ would be impossible to supply their places  
“ by the time of the expiration of those  
“ powers; if however they should with-  
“ draw, the Assembly should take no notice  
“ of it, for they would not be the less com-  
“ plete and competent. Each Deputy is  
“ not only the Representative of his Bai-  
“ liwick, but the Representative of the  
“ Nation; yet we should see with regret the  
“ departure of colleagues so enlightened,  
“ and these principles secure us the advan-  
“ tage

“ tage of keeping them. The powers  
 “ given for a year had the reform of the  
 “ Constitution in view, and the Constitu-  
 “ ents thought that the year would be suf-  
 “ ficient. The limiting clause of the powers  
 “ should yield to the imperative one for the  
 “ finishing of the Constitution, by which  
 “ their duration and extent are settled. It  
 “ is said that the word *Constitution* is not  
 “ to be found in the powers: all the in-  
 “ structions, however, require *the reform of*  
 “ *abuses*, and reform cannot be made but  
 “ by the Constitution. It is begun: all the  
 “ citizens by taking the civic oath have  
 “ given it a formal consistency; and more,  
 “ when the Assembly was attacked by des-  
 “ potism you all took an oath not to sepa-  
 “ rate till the Constitution was finished:  
 “ that oath was approved every where, and  
 “ the Nation by approving it, bound itself  
 “ to its execution. Besides, how are the  
 “ elections to be made? The old Electors  
 “ are no more, the bailiwicks are sunk in  
 “ the departments, and the Orders are no  
 “ longer separate. The limiting clause of  
 “ the powers becomes then of no force, and  
 “ it would be contrary to the principles of  
 “ the Constitution that the Deputies in ques-

“ tion should not remain in the Assembly :  
“ their oath compels them to remain, and  
“ the interest of the public requires it.”

The Abbé *Maury* with energy removed the errors and confuted the sophisms on which the Report was built. He demonstrated by unanswerable arguments, 1st, That the Nation had no occasion to withdraw powers that had expired by virtue of the clause in which it had itself fixed the term of them. 2dly, That the right of renewing those powers after their expiration belonged exclusively to the Nation, or rather to the bailiwicks who had delegated them ; because the bailiwicks alone could appoint and invest with their powers the Members of an Assembly entirely composed of Deputies of the bailiwicks. 3dly, That the Decrees which sunk the bailiwicks into the Departments, had neither destroyed their former rounds nor caused them to be forgotten, and consequently, that it was then as easy as it was the year before to assemble them, for the purpose of appointing new Deputies, or continuing the powers of the present ones. 4thly, That the Nation, far from having expressly charged its Representatives to form a new Constitution—a charge that

that would necessarily have required powers unlimited as to time, but very limited as to the form of Government it might have wished to be substituted for the old one—had only authorised them to make reforms, and to concert them with the King: therefore, that the limiting clauses of the powers retained all their force, although the new Constitution, of which it made no mention, was not finished; for nothing was farther from being proved than the Assembly's having had a right to begin it. 5thly, That the applauses of galleries and of the populace, and civic oaths of individuals, could not be considered as a legal adherence to a future Constitution, as yet unknown because it was not made; and still less did there result from them a unanimous National suffrage so regularly expressed as to authorise the Assembly of the States-General to imagine or declare themselves a Constituent Assembly. 6thly, That the oath in the Tennis-Court had been taken only by a part of the Assembly, and that it could never absolve those who had taken it from that which they had previously sworn to their Constituents to be faithful to their instructions, that being the one by which they had been constituted

Deputies;

Deputies. That besides, the indiscreet oath of doing what they had no right to do, being evidently void on every principle, could not excuse them from violating an oath not only legitimate but indispensable; and in short, that it was absurd to argue, that any Delegates whatever could legally agree among themselves to violate the express terms of their delegation.

Ridiculous declamations and miserable subtleties were the only answer given to the Abbé Maury. *Mirabeau*, more wary than the speakers who had gone before him, was very careful not to argue the question logically, but eluded the difficulty of it by one of those rhetorical flourishes with which he was so ready, and concluded by cutting it short in a very remarkable manner. “ You  
“ remember (said he) the circumstance of  
“ that great man of antiquity, who, to save  
“ his country from a conspiracy, had been  
“ obliged to decide contrary to the laws,  
“ with that rapidity which the invincible  
“ alarm of necessity justifies. He was  
“ asked, if he had not acted contrary to his  
“ oath? and the captious tribune who in-  
“ terrogated him thought to involve him in  
“ the dangerous dilemma either of a per-  
“ jury,

“ jury, or an embarrassing confession. He  
 “ replied, *I swear that I have saved the*  
 “ *Republic!* So, Gentlemen,” cried *Mira-*  
*beau*, turning his looks and suiting his  
 gestures to the *Côté-Gauche* of the Assembly,  
 “ I swear that you have saved France !”

This unexpected apostrophe erased all remembrance of what had been said by the preceding speakers. There was a clapping and a calling for the question ; and all the amendments having been disposed of by the previous question, the Assembly adopted, by a great majority, the decree proposed by the Committee of the Constitution ; and in consequence declared that, “ Whereas the  
 “ Constituents of some Deputies could not  
 “ have given them powers to unite in forming only a part of the Constitution ; and  
 “ considering the oath taken on the 20th of  
 “ June by the Representatives of the Nation  
 “ not to separate till the Constitution was  
 “ completed, which oath had been approved  
 “ by the Nation itself, the Assembly decree  
 “ that such powers as were accompanied  
 “ with any limitation whatever, should continue in force until the conclusion of the  
 “ Constitution, and that the limiting clause  
 “ should have no effect.”

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The circumstance of the great man of antiquity produced so decisive an effect on the Assembly, only because, like *Mirabeau*, they were convinced of the illegality of the decree which they were about to pass; for, unless they were so convinced, this quotation from the Roman history would not have been applicable; and if the salvation of France had been the consequence of the Decree, there is no doubt but it would have over-ruled the nullity of it, as the salvation of Rome had justified the irregularity of Scipio's conduct. But that great man took no false oath when he swore that he had saved the Republic; whereas the Decree in question, far from saving France, concurred on the contrary in accelerating its ruin. Who knows what would have happened if the bailiwicks whose Deputies had limited instructions had been assembled? Might they not, instead of authorising them to finish the Constitution, have severely reprimanded them for having thought of beginning it? Had they not a right to address the King and the Nation, to protest against all the pretended Constitutional Decrees as void, and to petition his Majesty to convoke anew the other bailiwicks, in order to collect their sense

sense upon such a criminal abuse and violation of their instructions? There is no doubt that they might have adopted this measure: they might have proceeded much farther; Constituents have a right to impeach those who betray the trusts they have committed to them, and to demand punishment. This was what the Assembly feared, and what they avoided by a Decree radically null, brought forward by *Mirabeau* himself, and which only the salvation of France could have justified. Now, it is but too manifest that it was the Assembly, and not France, that was saved by the Decree of the 19th of April; therefore the nullity of it was not counterbalanced; and it followed necessarily and incontestibly that every subsequent Decree was equally defective, notwithstanding the sanction of the King, which, far from being a voluntary or free act, was then the only means left his Majesty to avoid the most serious outrages.

Notwithstanding the Decree of the 19th of April, *M. de Chailloué* and *M. de Vrigny*, Deputies of the Nobility of the bailiwick of Alençon, wrote to the President, and informed him, " That their powers terminat-  
 " ing at the month of May, they considered  
 " their



“ their seats as vacant ; of which they gave  
“ notice to the Assembly, that the order of  
“ the Nobility of their bailiwick might be  
“ authorised to elect others in their places.”

But on a Deputy of the Commons from the same bailiwick merely observing that his colleagues had not limited instructions, the Assembly passed instantly to the order of the day ; and decided that no mention should be made of this letter in the minutes. They acted in the same manner some days after with respect to the declaration made by the Marquis *de la Queuille*, a Deputy of the Nobility of Auvergne, that he should retire upon the same principle which had guided the Deputies of the Nobility of Alençon. But on the same day an address of the Council-General of the Commune of St. Malo, *continuing the powers of its Deputies, and beseeching the National Assembly to go on with their labours till the Constitution was completed*, was read with much emphasis, and mentioned honourably in their Journals. Nobody remarked that this address, so agreeable and so opportune, was not and could not be of any value ; for the Council-General of the Commune of St. Malo had returned no Members to the Assembly, and consequently

consequently had no right to extend, restrain, or modify powers which did not proceed from them. The town of St. Malo was comprised in the bailiwick of Rennes ; and it could only be the right of that bailiwick to extend powers which that alone had granted.

The Sittings in the beginning of the month of May were almost entirely engaged by debates on the establishment of Juries, on the new organization of the Judicial Power, and chiefly on the following questions : First, Shall the appointment of the Judges continue in the hands of the King, or shall they be elected by the People ? And, in the second place, Shall they be approved by the King ? The former of these questions was very soon decided unanimously in favour of the People : but not so the latter. The opinion of the Committee was, that the Magistrates of the Police should be appointed by the People, but that the other Judges could be appointed only by the King, from a presentation which should be made to him of three candidates, one of whom should be chosen by his Majesty. This was not only the most reasonable mode, but the only one consistent with the forms of the Monarchy,

Monarchy, even in the state of degradation to which the decrees already passed had reduced it. The Assembly had in fact previously acknowledged that the Judicial Power, being but that of causing the laws to be executed, was an emanation of one of the branches of the supreme Executive Power which they had delegated to the King, and on this principle it was that they had decreed that justice should be administered in the name of his Majesty. The Judges then being only the agents of the King, nothing seemed more absurd than to propose his having no share in their appointment; yet such was the opinion which prevailed in the Assembly, in spite of the eloquence with which *M. de Cazalès*, the Abbé *Maurry*, *M. Malouet*, and others, defended the Royal Prerogative, and refuted the democratic arguments of all the Orators of the *Côté-Gauche*. It was decreed, that the King should not have the power of refusing his consent to the admission of a Judge elected by the People, and that the Electors should present only one person to his Majesty.

Debates no less important took place a few days after on a letter written by *M. de Montmorin* for the King to the President of the

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the Assembly, relative to the differences subsisting between Spain and England, and the extraordinary preparations making by the latter Power. The tenor of the letter was as follows: “ Sir, The warlike preparations  
“ which are making by a neighbouring  
“ power, the press of sailors which has  
“ been ordered and is carried on with the  
“ greatest activity, together with the reasons given for the armament, have fixed  
“ his Majesty’s attention. He thought, as  
“ his first duty is to watch over the safety  
“ of the State, that he could not delay taking proper measures for that purpose.  
“ He is therefore going to order fourteen  
“ ships of the line to be immediately got  
“ ready in the ports of the Atlantic and  
“ Mediterranean; and shall in the mean time  
“ give directions to the Commanders of the  
“ Navy in those different ports to be prepared to augment the naval armaments,  
“ if circumstances should require it.

“ His Majesty having ordered me, Sir, to  
“ inform the National Assembly of these  
“ steps through you, wishes that they  
“ should be informed at the same time that  
“ they are purely the result of prudence and  
“ precaution. The King cherishes well

“ grounded hopes that peace will not be  
“ interrupted ; as his Majesty has received  
“ assurances from the Court of London,  
“ that *the sole object of those preparations*  
“ *was a difference that had arisen between*  
“ *that Power and Spain ; a difference*  
“ *which his Britannic Majesty was sincerely*  
“ *desirous should be terminated by a negoti-*  
“ *ation : and in fact, Mr. Fitzherbert, an*  
“ Ambassador from England to Spain, is on  
“ his way to Madrid. This communica-  
“ tion was accompanied with assurances of  
“ *his Britannic Majesty's desire to main-*  
“ *tain with France the good intelligence*  
“ *which so happily reigns between the two*  
“ *Nations.*

“ But however calculated this language is  
“ to remove apprehensions, his Majesty  
“ holds himself bound not to neglect mea-  
“ sures which prudence requires. There is no  
“ one but must be sensible that when Eng-  
“ land is armed, France cannot and ought  
“ not to remain unarmed ; and it behoves  
“ us to demonstrate to Europe, that the es-  
“ tablishing of our Constitution is far from  
“ being any obstacle to the employment of  
“ our forces. Besides, we cannot be ignorant  
“ that both gratitude and our own interest  
“ dictate

“ dictate to us on this occasion a conduct,  
 “ of which Spain has set us an example  
 “ whenever we have been concerned.

“ The King intends to use every means  
 “ in his power to effect a reconciliation  
 “ between the Courts of Madrid and  
 “ London, which he ardently wishes. His  
 “ Majesty is too well acquainted with the  
 “ justice and moderation of the King of  
 “ Spain, not to be persuaded that he will  
 “ readily listen to every mode of concilia-  
 “ tion compatible with the dignity and real  
 “ interest of his Crown. The disposition  
 “ testified by the Court of St. James’s gives  
 “ equal hopes that on their side they will  
 “ require nothing but what is conformable  
 “ to justice and mutual convenience.

“ The King has ordered me to declare to  
 “ his Britannic Majesty, the full sense he  
 “ has of the friendly communication made  
 “ by him through his Ambassador here;  
 “ and to give him the strongest and most  
 “ positive assurances of his extreme desire  
 “ that the harmony between the two Nations  
 “ should not be disturbed, either on this oc-  
 “ casion or on any other.

“ In fine, whatever be his Majesty’s con-  
 “ fidence in the efforts of a great Nation,

“ which certainly would not allow the first  
“ moments of its regeneration to be stained by  
“ a conduct that should reflect disgrace on the  
“ National honour, he is so shocked at the  
“ miseries of every kind attendant on war,  
“ that he will spare no trouble to avoid it.  
“ The King would feel inexpressible sorrow  
“ at seeing the Nation involved in it ; and it  
“ is entirely for the purpose of averting such  
“ a misfortune that his Majesty thinks it  
“ necessary for him to send to his different  
“ ports the orders which I had the honour  
“ of making known to you at the begin-  
“ ning of this letter. The object of them  
“ will necessarily require some extraordinary  
“ supply for the Navy. His Majesty is too  
“ well convinced of the patriotism of the  
“ Representatives of the Nation to doubt  
“ for a moment their readiness to vote the  
“ supplies, when a statement of what may  
“ be required is laid before them.”

This letter was scarcely read, when several members of the Assembly rose at the same time to speak, but they were informed by the President that the precedence had been already bespoken by a great number ; and that the list was drawn up, containing nearly twenty names. Those who were not  
included

included wondered, and were angry that twenty persons could have made up their minds on a subject with which the Assembly had not been acquainted. *Mirabeau* did not allow this opportunity to escape of declaiming against the mode of lists, which he pretended had been invented only to ensure precedence to ministerial men. This pitiful altercation between the speakers inscribed on the list and those who were not, took up the whole of the Sitting. On the next day the Duke *de Biron* moved, that the President should wait upon the King and thank him for the measures he had taken for the security of the empire and its commerce, and for the negotiations he had opened; and that his Majesty should be requested to order a statement to be laid before the Assembly of what would be requisite for the service of the navy.

*Alexander de Lameth* took a much more extensive view of the question. " We must know," said he, " we must decide first of all, whether the Assembly be competent, or whether the Sovereign Nation ought or not to delegate to the King the right of making peace or war. This question should be settled of course be-



“ fore that relative to circumstances inci-  
“ dental to it, or you would pre-suppose  
“ it; and the Minister sufficiently declares  
“ it in his letter. I am of opinion, that if  
“ you confine yourselves to granting the  
“ required supplies, the Nation may be led  
“ beyond the bounds which prudence  
“ should prescribe. Before we decide we  
“ should be made acquainted with all the  
“ circumstances, and know what has gone  
“ before. Must not the Nation be uneasy  
“ when the Ministry employ, at the Court  
“ whose affairs now occupy us, that man,  
“ that Minister, who was called to the  
“ Council when the National Assembly  
“ was surrounded by bayonets\*? It is pos-  
“ sible that there may be reasons for declar-  
“ ing war; it is possible too that there may  
“ be arrangements forming among different  
“ Courts, for it is the cause of Kings against  
“ Nations. The National Assembly ought  
“ to know on what account these prepara-  
“ tions are making; they ought to examine  
“ whether they can or cannot delegate the  
“ right of making war and peace: though

\* The Duke *de la Vauguyon*, then Ambassador at Madrid.

“ the question cannot be very doubtful in  
 “ this Assembly. Are we entitled to intrust  
 “ the dreadful right of causing blood to be  
 “ spilled, of sending thousands of citizens  
 “ far from their homes, and of venturing  
 “ the National property? I move that we  
 “ first decide this Constitutional ques-  
 “ tion.”

This motion, grounded upon insinuations so senseless if they were sincere, or so perfidious if they were the language of faction, was eagerly supported, not only by the *Barnaves*, the *Rewbells*, and the *Robespierres*, but also by *M. d'Aiguillon*, *M. de Broglie*, and *M. de Menou*. *Mirabeau* was the first who dared to oppose it, and who refuted it with the greatest force. He demonstrated it to be unreasonable and inconsistent, because the King's message did not at all relate to a declaration of war, and might still exist, if it were even decided that the right of making peace and war belonged to the Nation alone, as the right of arming and preparing for sudden occasions was not only the right but the duty of the Supreme Agent of the National will. “ If,” added he, “ Ministerial manœuvres concealed projects against the Nation, it  
 C c 4 “ would

“ would at most be a conspiracy of pigmies :  
“ nobody can think that fourteen ships put  
“ into commission would be alarming to  
“ the Constitution. Thus, if the Consti-  
“ tutional question were decided, the King  
“ might do what he has done, he might  
“ take the measures he has taken, attended  
“ always with the responsibility of the Mi-  
• “ nisters.” After much debating, in the  
course of which he frequently rose to refute  
the objections of his antagonists, the Assem-  
bly decreed almost unanimously : “ that the  
“ President should wait upon the King to  
“ thank his Majesty for the measures he  
“ had taken to maintain peace, and that  
“ the Constitutional question relative to the  
“ delegation of the right of making peace  
“ and war should be taken into considera-  
“ tion the very next day.”

To conceive the possibility of doubting,  
under a Monarchical Government, that the  
right of making peace and war should be  
delegated to the King, it was absolutely ne-  
cessary to be in the secret of the authors of  
the New Constitution, and to keep in mind,  
that it was only through prudence, and out  
of respect to the attachment which the Na-  
tion still had for the Monarchy and the  
King,

King, that they had given the title of *Monarchical Government* to that form which they intended to impose on France; but that in reality this title was but the mask of the *Democratical Aristocracy* which they were organizing, and by which the Monarch, sunk into the class of public Officers, was, in his quality of *King*, to be only the prime Agent and passive Instrument of an Assembly of Representatives of the People invested with the plenitude of the supreme authority: an authority already exclusively exercised by them; for it was but too evident that the *Veto*, or right of sanction delegated to the King, was no more than an obligation to sanction, under pain of being compelled to it by the most serious outrages.

This system, which though not avowed was ill-dissembled, appeared more openly in the debates relative to the delegation of the right of making peace and war. “ You “ have acknowledged,” said the Duke *d’Aiguillon*, in the Sitting of the 16th of May, “ that all the powers belong to the “ Nation; of course then the right of mak- “ ing peace and war belongs to it. If I “ might be allowed to quote a well known “ anecdote,

“ anecdote, I would put you in mind that  
“ *Louis XIV.* observing one of the win-  
“ dows of Trianon to be placed awry,  
“ threw himself into a very great rage.—  
“ *Louvois* the Minister and Surveyor-Gen-  
“ ral said to his confidants, The King at-  
“ tends to things of too trifling a nature—  
“ he must have more important occupa-  
“ tions. War was kindled ! The blood of  
“ Frenchmen flowed !—and for what ? For  
“ the window of Trianon. The whims of  
“ Mistresses, and the ambition of Ministers,  
“ would thus then decide the fate of the  
“ Nation. This impropriety alone, even if  
“ contrary to principle, would be enough  
“ to determine the question. My opinion  
“ therefore is, that the right of making  
“ peace and war resides fully and exclu-  
“ sively in the Legislative Body.”

*Charles de Lameth* also maintained, that  
the impossibility of delegating to the King  
the right of making peace and war, was the  
necessary consequence of the principles al-  
ready decreed. “ That right,” said he, “ is  
“ the manifestation of the general wish of  
“ the Nation, now is it the King who can  
“ express this wish ? A manifesto of war  
“ is like the hanging out of the bloody-  
“ flag

“ flag in a city : it is the citizens elected  
 “ by the people who are to declare, that ac-  
 “ cording to the will of the people, and for  
 “ the general safety, the public force is to  
 “ be employed against the enemies of peace :  
 “ so it is with a declaration of war—it is to  
 “ the Legislative Body—it is to the grand  
 “ Municipality that it belongs to make it.  
 “ It is painful to Frenchmen to recollect  
 “ circumstances injurious to the glory of  
 “ *Henry IV.* ; but at the time that France,  
 “ by a horrid crime, lost the best of Kings,  
 “ that Monarch was about to set Europe  
 “ in flames for the possession of the Princess  
 “ of *Condé*.”

Here the Abbé *Maury*, being irritated,  
 called to him in a loud voice, “ that it was  
 “ a malicious aspersión.”

*M. de Lameth* complained of being in-  
 terrupted, repeated his assertion, and refer-  
 red to historical vouchers, and to *Sully's*  
*Memoirs*, in answer to whatever contradic-  
 tions he had yet to meet with. He then  
 entered upon a discussion of the motives that  
 threw very great suspicion upon the prepara-  
 tions for this war, which he considered as  
 already declared, and which he attempted  
 to represent as a conspiracy plotted by the  
 powers

powers concerned in it. “ You cannot but  
“ know,” said he, “ the ties of Spain.—  
“ You are aware that our Constitution ter-  
“ rifies tyrants. You are acquainted with  
“ the steps taken by Spain to prevent the  
“ introduction of French publications into  
“ its dominions. A coalition is formed be-  
“ tween a Power that dreads the Revolution  
“ for itself, a Power that wishes to annih-  
“ late our Constitution, and a Family that  
“ may be actuated by private considerations.  
“ They want to discredit the assignats, to  
“ prevent the sale of the ecclesiastical pro-  
“ perty, and to restore the old order of  
“ things. If you declare that the King  
“ can make war, the Constitution will be  
“ attacked and may be destroyed. The  
“ Kingdom will be drenched with blood in  
“ every quarter. If an army is assembled,  
“ it will be the refuge of those whom our  
“ justice has made discontented. The rich,  
“ for it is the rich who are the discontented—  
“ they have enriched themselves from  
“ abuses, and you have drained the odious  
“ source of their opulence—the rich will  
“ employ all their means to spread and  
“ maintain commotion and disorder: but  
“ they shall not conquer; for if they have  
“ gold

“ gold we have iron, and know how to  
“ make use of it.”

At this menacing flourish addressed to the rich, the poor and miserable creatures that were heaped upon one another in the galleries, no doubt considering themselves as the *grand Constituents* of *Charles de Lameth*, seconded his assertions by the loudest plaudits.

May 17th.] *M. de Sillery*, professing the same principles, displayed them in the following eloquent *profopopœia*: “ If you  
“ grant the King the right of making war,  
“ attend to the reproaches you have to expect from the Nation. We had escaped  
“ from slavery, and you have plunged us  
“ back again into it : you decreed that the  
“ Sovereignty resided essentially in the Nation, and yet we obey the will of a single  
“ man. You promised to restore us our  
“ rights, and you made us acquainted with  
“ them only to snatch them away immediately. Have you relieved us from the  
“ ambition of Monarchs ? Will you cause  
“ our blood to flow, without even deigning  
“ to inform us of the motive for which we  
“ are to fight ? The Nation is free and sovereign ; and if you forget its rights,  
“ four-



“ four-and-twenty millions of men will as-  
“ fert them.”

*Pethion de Villeneuve*, ascending to the origin of the Monarchy, there saw, or thought he there saw, the people taking up arms only in consequence of having themselves resolved it, and laying them down only in consequence of being victorious. “ All the  
“ warriors,” said he, “ concurred in granting peace to the enemy. In later times  
“ the Kings could never make war without  
“ the assent of the Counts and Barons.—  
“ From 1356 to 1614 the Representatives  
“ of the Nation in the States-General debated on peace and war, on treaties and  
“ alliances. The States-General vanished,  
“ and in their place appeared a phantom of  
“ power. The judicial bodies appointed by  
“ the King were substituted for the National Court formed by the People.  
“ Then Kings no longer listened to aught  
“ but their ambition, their passions, and  
“ the unruly desire of vain-glory ; and thus  
“ committed the happiness and lives of the  
“ people, without consulting them. Take a  
“ view of all those treaties, or those political crimes, and you will see every page  
“ stained

“ stained with the blood which the people  
 “ have shed. Judge what may make a  
 “ despot impetuous and inhuman: he will  
 “ stir up a war among his neighbours for the  
 “ purpose of acquiring money—with that  
 “ money he will corrupt the army—he will  
 “ return a conqueror of foreign Nations—  
 “ and he will enslave the people, who will  
 “ prostrate themselves before the victorious  
 “ hero. It is said that supplies may be  
 “ refused:—Why not prevent the evil ra-  
 “ ther than be driven to seek a cure for it?  
 “ Can the Executive Power have the right  
 “ of thus hazarding the fate of Empires?  
 “ It has not a right to make the simplest  
 “ law:—Why give it that of making trea-  
 “ ties, the consequences of which are so  
 “ important? &c.”

*May 18th.*] “ To determine that the King  
 “ should have the right of making peace  
 “ and war,” said *Rewbell*, “ is to deter-  
 “ mine to unite will and action, the law  
 “ and its execution; it is to confound all  
 “ the powers. Treaties of alliance are  
 “ nothing more than the right of levying  
 “ taxes, and of exhausting the treasures of  
 “ the State: to grant this right to the King  
 “ is to give him constitutionally the right  
 “ of

“ of selling men like cattle. The Nation  
 “ should confide these dangerous rights only  
 “ to their Representatives ; they will always  
 “ have the same interest, whereas the Mi-  
 “ nisters will never feel other interests than  
 “ those of the Court, of money, and of  
 “ ambition. You have declared that all  
 “ men are equal in rights. There is no  
 “ club sufficiently weighty to hammer these  
 “ principles into the heads of the Mini-  
 “ sters ; they will ever consider Princes as  
 “ every thing, or in other words—men as  
 “ nothing.”

*May 19th.*] The danger of delegating the right of making peace and war, also alarmed *M. de Crillon, M. Beauharnois, M. Menou, M. Freteau, and M. St. Fargeau.*—Neither the power of refusing supplies, nor the example of England, could satisfy *M. St. Fargeau*. “ The prosperity of the English,” said he, “ gives a value to their institutions. They resigned the right of making war on two principles : —  
 “ 1st. Situated on an island, they had nothing to apprehend from foreign attempts, and there is little danger in naval forces to public liberty. 2dly. Their form of Government makes the preservation of  
 “ this

“ this right impossible ; the principle of  
 “ their power resides in the Parliament,  
 “ that is to say, in the House of Com-  
 “ mons and in the House of Lords. Each  
 “ of these houses is invested with a VETO ;  
 “ so that their Constitution gives room to a  
 “ temporary inaction ; and the right of mak-  
 “ ing war can only be confided to a power  
 “ ever active, and whose determinations  
 “ nothing can stop. In France, on the con-  
 “ trary, the unity of the Legislative Body  
 “ is a reason for confiding this right to  
 “ them, as being the least capable of abus-  
 “ ing it.”

In quoting the most specious arguments  
 and remarkable passages of the speeches  
 against the Royal prerogative, I have stated  
 the names of the speakers, and the dates of  
 the Sittings in which they spoke, that the  
 scrupulous accuracy of my quotations may  
 be proved by the minutes of the Assembly,  
 and the most creditable journals of the  
 times. There too will be found the speeches  
 of the many defenders of the Monarchy : those  
 of *M. M. Cazalés*, the Archbishop of *Aix*,  
*Maury*, *Clermont Tonnerre*, and others, are  
 admirable ; but they are too long to be given  
 entire, and to extract would be to weaken

them. Besides, the mere light of reason suggests the grounds of national interest and the principles of public law on which this great question ought to have been decided. The power of the sword, which is an essential attribute of Monarchy, was inseparable from the executive power delegated to the King; for it consists in the employment of the armed force for the protection both of national and private property, to maintain the public peace against its enemies as well domestic as foreign; and consequently to enforce the execution of treaties as effectually as of all the laws of the State. It was as easy to demonstrate these truths as to unfold the secret views of the party who disputed them. This *M. Cazalés* did in a nervous strain, and in one single expression of his speech tore off the perfidious mask under which the Constitutionals of the day concealed themselves. “ You have already,” said he, “ taken from the King two of his  
“ prerogatives, the administration of domestic police, and the administration of justice; take away the third, and we shall  
“ have to impart a great secret to the Nation, namely, that there is no longer a  
“ King.”

I cannot

I cannot refrain from also showing with what energy and dignity the attack upon the memory of *Henry IV.* was repelled.

“ You have been told,” cried *M. de Montlausier*, “ that *Henry IV.* at the time  
 “ of his assassination was about to kindle  
 “ a flame throughout Europe for the pos-  
 “ session of the Princess of *Condé* ! Thus  
 “ is it that contemptible orators who now  
 “ figure in our patriotic clubs, the base flat-  
 “ terers of popular tyranny, as they had  
 “ been of Kings, endeavour to shed their  
 “ poison on such characters as *Marcus Au-*  
 “ *relius*. It is on the horrible crime of  
 “ *Ravaillac* that they pretend to give you  
 “ consolation.”

“ Permit me,” said the Abbé *Maur*y,  
 “ permit a Representative of the Nation,  
 “ for *Henry’s* glory to recall a grand thought  
 “ to your minds. No : he was not about to  
 “ set Europe in flames for the gratification  
 “ of a headstrong passion ; he was about to  
 “ execute a project which he had been me-  
 “ ditating for twenty-one years, which he  
 “ had concerted with the Queen of England,  
 “ which for a long time he was not able to  
 “ impress on his friend *Sully*, and which  
 “ that *Sully* afterwards acknowledged to be

“ easy, just, and glorious : he was about  
“ to form Europe into a grand confederacy.  
“ In this we find the reason of the expression  
“ written by *Henry IV.* the day before his  
“ death : ‘ *If I live to see Monday, on*  
“ *Monday my glory commences!*’ But on  
“ Friday a monster deprived the French of  
“ their father, and deluged France with  
“ tears which not two centuries have been  
“ able to dry.”

In spite of the efforts of the Royal party, the great question on the delegation of the right of making peace and war, which was debated in seven successive Sittings, would have been decided by a great majority against the King, had not *Mirabeau*, separating himself from the crowd of popular speakers, displayed all his powers of eloquence and reasoning against their system. After demonstrating the inconsistency and danger of placing the right of making peace and war in the Legislative Body, he proposed a middle course. “ Are we,” said he, “ confined to add this right exclusively  
“ to either the Legislative or Executive  
“ Power ? Is it impossible to make the two  
“ powers which constitute the National  
“ force and represent its wisdom, concur in  
“ directing

“ directing one of the functions of the Go-  
 “ vernment, which depends at once on  
 “ action and will, on execution and deli-  
 “ beration, to the same end? Is it impoſſi-  
 “ ble to restrain the old abuses of royalty  
 “ without palsyng the public force? Is it  
 “ impossible to know the wish of the Na-  
 “ tion respecting war and peace by the su-  
 “ preme organ of a Representative Assembly,  
 “ without bringing upon us the disadvan-  
 “ tages we discover in that part of the pub-  
 “ lic law in the ancient republics, and in  
 “ some of the modern States of Europe?  
 “ In short, ought we not to fix the right of  
 “ making peace and war jointly in the two  
 “ Powers?”

Under this new point of view *Mirabeau*  
 examined the question: he discussed it tho-  
 roughly—refuted the arguments of the chief  
 speakers on both sides of the house who had  
 spoken before him, and concluded with  
 moving, “ That the Assembly adopt, as  
 “ Constitutional Articles, that the right of  
 “ making peace and war belonged to the  
 “ Nation, and that the exercise of it should  
 “ be delegated jointly to the Legislative and  
 “ Executive Powers.”



From the articles of this motion there resulted, 1st. That the King could declare war; but that it could not be continued without the consent of the Legislative Body, who might refuse the necessary funds for carrying it on. 2dly, That the King might enter into all such agreements with foreign powers as he should judge necessary for the good of the State; but that treaties of peace, of alliance, or of commerce, could be carried into execution only so far as they should be ratified by the Legislative Body.

This project reduced the rights of the Monarch too much to please the Royalists entirely, and left him enough to rouse the indignation of the Democrats. *Mirabeau* was instantly denounced to the people as a deserter, and a traitor to the country; while praises, plaudits, and the honours of triumph were lavished on the most furious speakers of the *Coté-Gauche*. One of them, *Barnave*, undertook to refute, article by article, the plan proposed, and in the contest displayed more talents than those who had spoken before him on the same side; for, although he said nothing which had not been said before, he ably selected their most specious arguments,

ments, and applied them in the best way to make an impression. He so completely succeeded, that there was a call for the question, to be instantly put to the vote; and there is no doubt, if it had been at that moment, that he would have had a great majority for his opinion: but *M. de Cazalès* and *Mirabeau* opposed the closing of the debate, and the Assembly agreed to their request of adjourning the question till next day, and of then deciding it before they broke up.

*Mirabeau*, stripped of his popularity, discredited with his party, and without a hope of obtaining the slightest confidence with the Royalists, would in future have played but an insignificant part in the Revolution if he had failed in so striking a circumstance: his motions, his support, his harangues, so often sold to the highest bidder, would no longer have found purchasers; he was therefore expected to display all his means and resources in the next Sitting, to obtain a victory as important to his interest as flattering to his self-love, and the expectation was not disappointed. The talent of reply was that in which he chiefly excelled all the other speakers of the Assembly, and he employed it on this occasion with the completest suc-

cess, turning into ridicule both the insults he had received and the popular honours bestowed on his opponents. "And me too," said he, "me, a few days ago, they wanted  
" to carry in triumph, and now they are  
" hawking about the streets, THE GRAND  
" TREASON OF COUNT MIRABEAU! I  
" had no need of this lesson to learn that  
" the distance was short between the Capitol and the Tarpeian Rock; but the man  
" who contends for reason and his country  
" does not feel himself so easily overcome.  
" He who is conscious of having deserved  
" well of his country, and especially of  
" being still useful to it; he who is not  
" puffed up with vain celebrity, and who  
" for real glory despises the triumphs of a  
" day; he who determines to speak truth,  
" who determines to pursue the public good  
" independently of all motives arising in  
" popular opinion; that man carries with  
" him the reward of his services, the balm  
" of his cares, and the prize of his dangers:  
" he is not to look for his harvest, his fate,  
" the only fate he cares about, that of his  
" name, but from Time, that incorruptible  
" judge who does justice to all. Let those  
" who foretold my opinion a week ago  
" without

“ without knowing it, and who now asperse  
“ my speech without having understood it,  
“ accuse me of worshipping impotent idols  
“ just as they are thrown down, or of being  
“ the base hireling of those whom I have  
“ never ceased opposing; let them denounce  
“ as an enemy of the Revolution a man who  
“ perhaps has not been useless in it, and  
“ who, had it nothing to do with his fame,  
“ could without it have no hope of his  
“ safety; let them give up to the rage of a  
“ deluded people him who for twenty  
“ years has been combating all oppressions,  
“ and who was speaking to the French of  
“ liberty, of a constitution, of resistance,  
“ while these mean slanderers were subject  
“ to all the prevailing prejudices. What is  
“ it to me? They may stab me as they will,  
“ they shall not impede my course. I will  
“ still say to them, Answer me if you can,  
“ then abuse me as much as you please. I  
“ enter the lists, then, supported by my prin-  
“ ciples alone, and the firmness of my con-  
“ science, &c.”

*Mirabeau* then went over the different objections of *Barnave*, completely refuted them all, and concluded with persisting in his motion with an amendment made by  
*Chapelier*.

*Chapelier.* He did not deny but that inconveniences might result from it : “ But such,” said he, “ is the lot of all human institutions. Do you mean to say, that a Government made by men for men can be free from inconveniences? Do you mean, because there are dangers in Royalty, to make us renounce all the advantages of Royalty? Speak out then, and let us set about debating, whether because fire burns we shall renounce the heat and light we borrow from it, or not : every thing may afford an argument except a downright contradiction ; tell us at once that there is no need of a King, but do not tell us that there is need only of a useless King.”

*Barnave* would have replied ; but the Assembly closed the debate, and, by a very great majority, adopted the motion made by *Mirabeau*, which was rendered popular by the concurrence of *M. de la Fayette*, who supported it with some very emphatic expressions he thought it proper to write, and of which the following are some of the most striking :

“ I find in this plan that distribution of powers which appears to me the best adapted to the true constitutional principles

“ ples of Liberty and the Monarchy, the  
 “ properest to avert the scourge of war,  
 “ and the most advantageous to the Nation.  
 “ At a moment when there seems to be an  
 “ inclination to mislead the people respect-  
 “ ing this complicated question, when those  
 “ who have ever united for the popular  
 “ cause now differ in opinion, still adopt-  
 “ ing nearly the same grounds; at this mo-  
 “ ment when an attempt is made to persuade  
 “ them that those only are their true friends  
 “ who vote for a particular decree, I think  
 “ it right that a different opinion should be  
 “ plainly declared by a man on whom ex-  
 “ perience and some labour in the career of  
 “ liberty have bestowed a right to have  
 “ an opinion. I think I cannot better dis-  
 “ charge the immense debt I have con-  
 “ tracted with the Nation, than by resolv-  
 “ ing not to sacrifice to the popularity of a  
 “ day the opinion which I believe to be  
 “ more useful to it. It is my wish that  
 “ these few words should be written, that  
 “ the insinuations of calumny may find no  
 “ avenue to the great duty I am performing  
 “ towards the Nation to which my whole  
 “ life is devoted.”

The

The Assembly broke up at six o'clock at night with the loud applauses of the Members, and shouts of joy from the spectators. The Decree which was the result of these debates was as follows :

“ The National Assembly decree as articles of the Constitution,

“ 1st. That the right of making peace and war belongs to the Nation. War can only be decided by a decree of the National Assembly, which shall be passed in consequence of a formal and requisite proposal by the King, and which shall be sanctioned by them.

“ 2dly. The care of attending to the external security of the Kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and possessions, is delegated by the Constitution to the King : he alone can form political connections abroad, conduct negotiations, appoint the agents of them, make preparations for war proportionate to those of the neighbouring States, regulate the army and navy as he shall judge right, and have the management of them in case of war.

“ 3dly. In cases of hostilities threatened  
or

or commenced, of an ally to support, or of a right to be maintained by force of arms, the King shall be bound to give notice of them without delay to the Legislative Body, with the causes and motives for them; and if the Legislative Body should not be assembled at the time, it shall be immediately convened.

“ 4thly. On such notice, if the Legislative Body are of opinion that the hostilities commenced are a culpable aggression on the part of the Ministers or other agents of the Executive Power, the author of the aggression shall be prosecuted for treason against the Nation; as the National Assembly declare to this effect, that the French Nation renounces all thoughts of undertaking any war with the view of making conquests, and that it will never employ its forces against the liberty of any Nation.

“ 5thly. On the same notice, if the Legislative Body decide that war ought not to be made, the Executive Power shall be bound to take immediate measures to put an end to or prevent hostilities, the Ministers standing responsible for all delays.

“ 6thly. Every declaration of war shall be made in these terms: ON THE PART OF  
THE



THE KING OF THE FRENCH, AND IN THE NAME OF THE NATION.

“ 7thly. Throughout the war, the Legislative Body may require the Executive Power to negotiate peace ; and the Executive Power shall be bound to yield to such request.

“ 8thly. At the conclusion of war, the Legislative Body shall determine the time for disbanding the number of troops levied for the war, and reducing the army to a peace establishment : the pay of the said extraordinary troops shall be continued only to that time ; after which if they remain assembled the Minister shall be responsible, and shall be prosecuted for treason against the Nation.

“ 9thly, It shall be the part of the King to conclude with foreign powers all treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce, and other conventions which he shall judge necessary for the good of the Nation, and to sign the same ; but the treaties and conventions shall have effect only so far as they shall be ratified by the Legislative Body.”

CHAP-

## CHAPTER XXV.

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*Violent Insurrections and Assassinations at Nismes, Marseilles, Valence, Montauban, and other Places—A Commotion at Paris excited by the Jacobins against the Club known by the Name of the Salon-Français, and against the Deputies who had joined in the Capuchins' Church to sign a Protest—The Populace hang Three Thieves—M. de la Fayette forces a Man who was already tied to a Rope at the Lantern out of the Hands of the People — Constitutional Proclamation by the King—The Assembly enraptured send a Deputation to his Majesty—Debate on the Constitution of the Clergy—A speculative Sketch of the State of the Finances addressed to the Assembly*

*Assembly by Mr. Necker—Revolt of some Regiments—The Royal Family go to St. Cloud—The Assembly request the King himself to fix his Civil List—His Majesty's Reply—Decree.*

THE question relative to the right of making peace and war was certainly of great importance to the Assembly ; that right being almost the only one remaining to be usurped to place all those which constituted sovereignty in their hands : but with respect to the King, the discussion was evidently nothing more than a vain dispute of words ; for, even according to the system of the most zealous defenders of the Royal Prerogative, the Legislative Body was to retain the power of refusing the means of supporting war ; so that the power of declaring it being severed from the means of carrying it on, and never to be exercised but with the consent of the Assembly, was a right absolutely illusory and ideal. The same may be said of that supreme Executive Power, pompously delegated to the King after the annihilation of all the means necessary to exercise it : and indeed the spirit of rebellion and anarchy, emboldened by impunity, was every day making

ing fresh progress; never, from the beginning of the Revolution, had seditious commotions, insurrections, or assassinations, been so numerous as they were in the course of the month of May 1790.

At Nismes some soldiers of the National Guard having put the white cockade into their hats, and one of them being insulted by a soldier of the Regiment of Guyenne, who tore out his cockade and trod it under foot, a quarrel ensued. Several of the National Guard joined the men of the Regiment of Guyenne, who had come up to the succour of their comrade, the battle became furious, and the Municipal Officers appeared and separated the combatants. This event made an uproar in the town, which had for some time been violently agitated by the fears of the Catholics and the hopes of the Protestants, on the subject of the Decrees already passed relative to Religion and the Clergy. In the night, bands of men, armed with pikes, bludgeons, and torches, traversed the streets, notwithstanding the patrols had been doubled. Martial law being proclaimed next day put an end to the disorder, but there was a dread of its being renewed every instant.

*Baron de Marguerittes, a*

Member of the Assembly, and Mayor of Nîmes, where he then happened to be on leave, had on the 2d of May invited two companies of the National Guard to breakfast at his house, as they had paid him the compliment the day before of erecting a May-pole at his gate, and it was at the conclusion of this breakfast that the quarrel above-mentioned had taken place. Nothing more was wanting to create a suspicion of *M. de Marguerittes*' having fomented or encouraged it; and on this ground alone he was formally accused in an address from the Jacobin Club of Nîmes to the Assembly; who, notwithstanding the respect due to one of their Members who was generally esteemed, ordered, without any farther explanation, that he should appear at their bar without delay, to give an account of his conduct and of that of the Municipality of Nîmes, relative to the commotions in that town. The hearing of the business was referred to the Committee of Inquiry, and the President of the Assembly was charged to wait upon the King to request him not to remove the Regiment of Guyenne from Nîmes.

Baron *Marguerittes* obeyed the order, and completely justified himself.

At Marfeilles the National Guard feized upon all the forts, from which they drove the troops of the line, and maffacred the *Chevalier de Beauffet*, Major of the Garri- fon, to whom they imputed the feeble re- fiftance which fort St. John had made.

At Montpellier alfo the National Volun- teers drove out the troops of the line, and took poffeffion of the citadel.

At Valence the Vifcount *de Voifins*, who had been induced by feditious appearances to add fifty men to the picket guards, and to caufe the *Generale* to be beaten, was ac- cused by the People of having fent a foldier to prifon for having faid that he would not fire on his fellow-citizens. The Municipal Officers, compelled to go to *M. de Voifins'* houfe to ask the motives of thefe proceedings, were accompanied thither by an immense crowd, who dragged him out and carried him to a church, where he mounted upon a chair to juftify himfelf: but he had hardly got down, when, in fpite of the efforts made by the Municipal Officers to protect him, the mob fell upon him and maffacred him. To palliate this horrid crime, a great many copies of a counter-revolutionary letter, pretended to be found in his pocket after

his death, were distributed, and one of these copies, not signed, was sent to the Assembly; but the original letter never appeared, nor did any one ever declare that he had seen it.

Commutations similar to those which agitated Nismes broke out at Montauban, but with much more violence, and soon assumed all the characteristics of a civil war between the Catholics and Protestants. The Catholics were protected by the majority of the people and a battalion of National Guards, and the Protestants by three other battalions of National Guards and the garrison. The two parties that divided the town only waited an opportunity to proceed to blows. The day on which the Municipal Officers were to go to the Convent of Cordeliers, to take the inventory ordered by the Assembly, being appointed, six hundred women armed with swords and clubs made their way to the door of the convent before the Municipality, and forced them to retire. At this time the Protestants and National Dragoons in disguise went with their arms to the *Hotel-de-Ville*, and took possession of it. The news of this being brought to the Cordeliers, where the people were still assembled, they set out furiously and ran to the *Hotel-de-*

*de-Ville*. Many Gentlemen mixed with the multitude, and used their utmost endeavours to calm them. When they arrived they drew their swords, but without commencing the attack; the battle began by a volley which the dragoons fired upon them, and by which three persons were wounded. The entrance of the *Hotel-de-Ville* was immediately forced by the people, four dragoons were killed on the spot, eight mortally wounded, and not one would have escaped, had not the Regiment of Languedoc come up to defend them and place them under the protection of the Nobility. Martial Law was proclaimed, and the Municipality caused the houses of the Protestants to be searched, and the arms and ammunition found in them to be seized. Such of them as appeared in the streets were insulted and beaten. The National cockade was abandoned. The National Guards of Bourdeaux sent a detachment of 1500 men to support those of Montauban, and it was declared, that those of Toulouse were going to send a much stronger one to the assistance of the people.

At Castres, Perpignan, Pau, and through a great part of Alsace, the sale of the pro-



perty of the Clergy created the most alarming commotions.

At Toulon the workmen of the Arsenal mutinied against their Officers, one of whom, *M. de Chaulet*, was thrice wounded with a sword, and twice with a bayonet. In this port, as in those of Brest and Rochefort, the plunder of the Arsenals was carried on in the name of the Nation and of Liberty, and every act of disorder was termed an act of patriotism.

Nor was the Capital in a more tranquil state. The Jacobin Club, that powerful and staunch auxiliary of the *Côté-Gauche* of the Assembly, employed their agents in stirring up insurrections against the club or association of Royalists which had been formed under the title of the *Salon Français*, and against the Deputies who had in great numbers joined with the Capuchins in signing a protest against the Decree of the 14th of April, relative to the property of the Clergy. The Chatelet, where the proceedings respecting the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October were still assiduously carried on, was also the object of the most atrocious calumnies, and such as were the most adapted to excite the suspicions and resentment of the people

people against the members of it. Thefts becoming daily more frequent, that Court was accused in several pamphlets of encouraging the thieves, not only by releasing them too easily, but by hiring them to continue their depredations and incessant molestation of the citizens ; and the people firmly believing these absurdities, murmured loudly against them. They were in this frame of mind, when five thieves, who had been dining at a tavern near the King's garden, went off with some of the plate belonging to the tavern-keeper, who discovering the theft pursued them. They passed the river in a small boat, and two escaped, but three were taken : a crowd gathered, the thieves were searched, and the silver spoons and forks found upon them. They were carried before a Magistrate, who, having taken down their examination, was going to send them to the Chatelet : however, it was said they boasted *that they should soon come out, and with money in their pockets too* ; which exasperated the people, who, tearing them from the guard, hanged them immediately, and carried their rage to such excess, that, the rope breaking with the last man, they

cudgelled him to death. The next day a man was caught stealing a sack of corn on the quay *de la Féraille*, and the people immediately hanged him at a lantern. *M. de la Fayette* happened to be passing at the time, and went up to the spot with an officer, who cut the rope while the General harangued the multitude. Some villains among the crowd crying out, *Hang away! hang away! don't hear him!* *M. de la Fayette* seized one of them, and dragged him with his own hands to prison, saying, that it was always honourable to obey the law, and give it every assistance. But the wretch whom he had saved from the lantern died the night following from the bruise he had received in his fall, and the blows the mob had given him.

The King was the more affected at the troubles that afflicted the Kingdom, as they placed him in a most embarrassing and cruel dilemma. If he had declared himself in favour of the Royal party, a civil war would have been the immediate effect, and of all calamities *that* awakened the greatest horror in his mind. Nor could he avoid it but by humbling and weakening his own party,

party, which unfortunately he determined to do, and in consequence sent the following Proclamation to the Assembly :

“ Never were there circumstances that  
 “ more imperiously called upon all French-  
 “ men to unite with one spirit, to rally  
 “ with courage about the Law, and to aid  
 “ with all their power the establishment of  
 “ the Constitution. We have neglected no  
 “ means of inspiring all the citizens with  
 “ these sentiments ; we have ourselves set  
 “ them the most unequivocal example of  
 “ confidence in the Representatives of the  
 “ Nation, and of an unvarying inclination  
 “ for whatever may tend to the happiness  
 “ of our subjects, and the prosperity of  
 “ France.

“ Can it then be possible that there are  
 “ men, enemies to the public good, who  
 “ are still endeavouring to disturb the im-  
 “ portant labours in which the Assembly  
 “ are engaged, in concert with ourselves,  
 “ for securing the rights of the People,  
 “ and for laying the foundation of their  
 “ happiness ? that there are men attempting  
 “ to agitate the minds of others, either by  
 “ vain terrors and false interpretations of  
 “ the

“ the Decrees of the National Assembly,  
“ which have been accepted and sanctioned  
“ by us ; or by undertaking to raise doubts  
“ as unfounded as injurious respecting our  
“ intentions, and by veiling private interests  
“ and passions under the sacred name of re-  
“ ligion ?

“ So criminal an opposition would afflict  
“ us sensibly, and at the same time would  
“ call forth our severest censure. It is our  
“ constant care to prevent and repress what-  
“ ever has this tendency ; and we even  
“ think it worthy of our paternal solicitude  
“ to prohibit the very badges that are used  
“ to distinguish divisions and parties.

“ Induced by these considerations, and  
“ informed that in various places of the  
“ Kingdom, some individuals had taken  
“ the liberty of wearing cockades different  
“ from the National one, which we wear  
“ ourselves ; and considering the mischiefs  
“ that might ensue from this difference, we  
“ think it right to forbid it.

“ Therefore, we forbid all our faithful  
“ subjects throughout the whole of our  
“ Kingdom to make use of any other  
“ cockade than the National cockade.

“ And we exhort all good citizens to ab-  
“ stain,

“ stain, in their speeches as well as in their  
 “ writings, from all reproaches and names  
 “ calculated to exasperate and to foment  
 “ dissensions, or that might even serve as a  
 “ pretence for criminal excesses.

“ (Signed) Louis.”

The reading of this Proclamation in the  
 Assembly was frequently interrupted by ex-  
 pressions of rapture, and was scarcely finished  
 before the Hall rung with the plaudits of  
 the *Côté-Gauche* and of the galleries, and  
 with repeated shouts of *Vive le Roi!*—It was  
 decreed with rapture, “ that a Deputation  
 “ of twenty-four members should be sent  
 “ to the King to give him an account of the  
 “ transports of joy, and of the sentiments  
 “ of attachment and of love which the  
 “ reading of this Proclamation had excited,  
 “ and to thank his Majesty, in the name of  
 “ the Nation, for the care he took to bring  
 “ back the People to concord, and to unite  
 “ all the French to their beloved Monarch.”  
 No sooner was this Decree passed, than the  
 universal applause demonstrated that it no  
 less expressed the sentiments of the spectators  
 than of the Assembly.

The speech made by this Deputation to  
 the

the King deserves to be known, as the Assembly adopted it as the faithful expression of their own feelings, and ordered it to be printed. It was in substance as follows:

“ SIRE,

“ You showed yourself to be the greatest  
“ of Monarchs, when you invited the  
“ French to liberty: you now show your-  
“ self to be the best of fathers by recalling  
“ them to peace and brotherly union. What  
“ heart but will be affected? What heart  
“ but will be overcome? The Assembly  
“ have charged us to inform you of the  
“ rapture produced by the reading of a Pro-  
“ clamation, in which your goodness and  
“ tender solicitude are so admirably depicted.  
“ The expressions of respect and inviolable  
“ loyalty echoed amidst the Assembly as  
“ they rose from every heart; and we  
“ come, Sire, to lay the offering at your  
“ feet. Never were we more truly the in-  
“ terpreters of the general will of the  
“ Nation.”

Is it possible to reflect without indignation, that it was by repeating on every occasion these acts of excessive goodness and  
con-

condescension, more like a father than a King, that *Louis XVI.* paved his way to the scaffold? Is it possible to do other than devote to everlasting execration the monsters, as stupid as ferocious, who dared to accuse of tyranny a King infinitely too good, and declare him guilty of *a conspiracy against public liberty, and of attempts on the general security of the State?*

The debate upon the plan of a Constitution for the Clergy in future was opened on the 29th of May, and occupied the greater part of the Sittings in June. The Archbishop of *Aix*, who spoke first, established and claimed, in a manly manner, in the name of his colleagues, the rights of ecclesiastical power.

“ If,” said he, “ you have not recourse to  
 “ the authority of the Church, you forget  
 “ the Catholic unity, which is a part of the  
 “ Constitution of the Empire. We can in  
 “ no case renounce the forms prescribed by  
 “ the Councils: we have pointed out to  
 “ you the objects which may be regulated  
 “ in the Provincial Councils, and those that  
 “ require the concurrence of the civil and  
 “ ecclesiastical powers. There are no law-  
 “ ful means of investigation, of concilia-  
 “ tion,



“ tion, and decision, which we have not  
“ proposed; and we have at least the grati-  
“ fication of having manifested all the in-  
“ clinations of ministers of concord and  
“ peace. We therefore propose to you to  
“ consult the Gallican Church by a Na-  
“ tional convocation. It is there that the  
“ power which superintends the trust of  
“ faith resides; it is there that, instructed in  
“ our duties and your wishes, we shall re-  
“ concile the interests of the People with  
“ those of Religion. We most earnestly  
“ beseech the King and the National Assem-  
“ bly to permit the convocation of this  
“ Council: but if you now adopt the plan  
“ proposed by your Committee, we declare  
“ that we cannot join in any Decree respect-  
“ ing objects of a spiritual jurisdiction,  
“ proceeding from a power entirely civil,  
“ and without the intervention of the  
“ Church\*.” This Declaration was sup-

\* These principles, which served as the grounds of the defence of the Clergy, were some time after enlarged upon by the Archbishop of *Aix*, in the famous Act entitled *Exposition des Principes*. This Act, signed by all the Bishops of France, was approved by the Pope, as containing the true doctrine of the Gallican Church. See *Appendix*, No. ix.

ported

ported by all the Bishops present, and by all the ecclesiastical Deputies who remained faithful to their duty.

The Assembly, or rather the Anti-Catholic Faction which composed the majority of it, congratulated themselves on having only to reject the request of the Bishops, to avoid the trouble of refuting their objections against most of the articles of the plan formed by the Committee. The debate was resumed in the Sitting of the 1st of June, on the Archbishop of *Aix's* proposition which was opposed in an elaborate manner by the advocate *Camus*; who maintained that the Assembly being a National Convention had a right to alter the religion of the country; that, nevertheless, they did not wish to change it; and that the plan of the Committee did not invade the spiritual jurisdiction, as it only related to temporal objects. Six or seven country priests supported this opinion, and the Assembly decided by a great majority, that they should pass to the order of the day, that is to say, to the discussion of the articles of the plan of the Committee.—The Bishops persisted in taking no part in the determination relative to it, and by so doing

doing rendered it, as far as they could, null.

In the Sitting of the 29th of May also, Mr. *Necker* introduced to the Assembly a new *speculative* sketch of the supplies wanted for the current year, and the resources by which they were to be raised. He had already communicated it to the Committee of Finances; but the obscure and cold approbation of a Committee was not glory enough for Mr. *Necker*. The solemnity of a Ministerial reading in presence of the Representatives of the Nation promised him much more brilliant success, which he was not inclined to neglect, and he went to flatter the Assembly that he might be flattered by them. “It is dear to me, Gentlemen,” cried he with emotion, “to communicate with you  
“at least now and then in a direct manner.  
“Although deprived of that habitual encouragement by the formation of your  
“Committees, I do not concur with less  
“zeal in the arrangements which are there  
“preparing; but I cannot relinquish the  
“very natural desire of sometimes engaging your attention and kindness.”

In the general statement he gave of the  
receipts

receipts and expences ordinary and extraordinary for the eight last months of the year 1790, The receipts amounted

		<i>Livres.</i>
	to	- 654,625,000
And the expences to	-	- 645,210,000
		<hr/>
The surplus of receipts was }		11,415,000
therefore	-	-
		<hr/>

This speculative sketch would doubtless have been very consoling, if the head of receipts had not chiefly consisted of a patriotic contribution, valued at 30,000,000, of the funds which were expected from the loan of September 1789, or from those of the *Pays d'Etats*, and of the 380,000,000 *livres* in Assignats remaining to make up the 400,000,000 which had been created. But how were resources so immense, so ruinous, to be replaced or renewed for the ensuing year? How was this new order of things, which after reducing the revenue of the State almost a half, had more than doubled its expences, to be supported? How, in a word, was complete order to be secured in the Finances for the future? Here was the problem the most important and necessary to

be solved. The solution given to it by Mr. *Necker*, and the different articles of which he composed his speculative sketch of future resources, stood thus :

*Livres.*

1. The taxes laid on those hitherto exempted, the amount of which he valued at - - - 32,000,000
- 2d. The augmentation arising from the better division of the two-twentieths - - - Memorandum.
- 3d. The increase of which the duty on collateral successions is susceptible - - - Memorandum.
- 4th. The probable increase of the duties of one per cent. on the sale of all real estates, from those of the King's demesnes and of the Clergy, being open to alienation - Memorandum.
- 5th. The augmentation which may be made to the revenue arising from the Post by means of a

new

new tariff, and stricter regulations in respect of privileges and franks Memorandum.

6th. The possible increase of a produce from the woods of the King's demesne lands, by a better management - Memorandum.

7th. Idem, as to the demesnes engaged - Memorandum.

8th. The gradual extinction of the annuities - Memorandum.

9th. The probability that the Assembly, in possession of the estates of the Clergy declared National, will find in that wealth all expences paid, a great augmentation of revenue - - - Memorandum.

10th. The annual introduction of new gold and silver into Europe, of which France takes a considerable share - Memorandum.

11th. Lastly, all that may be expected from an As-

sembly where there is  
so much knowledge ;  
and all that a Nation set  
in motion for the public  
good shall discover of  
abuses, yet unknown, to  
be reformed, and of im-  
provements to urge or to  
make - - - Memorandum.

These numerous resources, calculated, not upon the imaginary value which wild hopes, revolutionary quacking, or ignorance might ascribe to them in a speculative sketch, but according to the real result that ought to be expected from them, could not, and did not, produce an augmentation of a hundred millions to the revenue. In whatever manner the estates of the Clergy might have been managed, tithes being suppressed, it was impossible they should have produced a revenue sufficient to answer the expences of divine worship, and the support of the old and new Clergy. Mr. *Necker* was certainly not ignorant of this. How then could he sincerely believe, or flatter himself to make others believe, that an augmentation of a hundred

hundred millions in the revenues of the State would secure complete order in the Finances for the future, while it was clear, from the speculative sketch which he presented, that about 500,000,000 of extraordinary funds added to the ordinary revenues of the year 1790, produced in the receipts only a surplus of 11,415,000 *livres*? However, after displaying this sketch of speculative wealth and of real misery, he exclaimed, with transport—"What ideas, Gentlemen, are awakened by this compendious statement of our immense resources! Methinks there is pleasure in presenting such a view both to the friends and to the enemies of France\*. It gives still greater beauty to the noble, grand, and salutary declaration you have made of your love of peace, and of your dereliction of all kind of aggrandisement of the French Empire. How magnificent a Kingdom then is that which no event, no series of abuses, or internal division can ruin! Nor is it to be doubted but that your zeal and

\* One might be almost tempted to think that Mr. Necker had already foreseen that the expences of divine worship, and the incomes of the Clergy, would be soon suppressed.



“ your knowledge will unfold those grand  
“ and various means. It is impossible not  
“ to pay homage to that chain of ideas, to  
“ that combination of knowledge, and that  
“ rapidity of labour which have borne you  
“ over so much matter in so striking and  
“ distinguished a manner. Your great  
“ work displays the boldest conceptions—  
“ the most commanding conduct, &c. &c.”

Mr. *Necker*, no doubt, considered this disgusting officiousness as a necessary introduction to the solid advice he gave the Assembly upon the importance of suppressing the commotions which were breaking out in every quarter, and the general disorder that reigned throughout the Kingdom. He represented strongly the necessity “ of restoring influence and effectual authority to  
“ the Government, without which the Executive Power could not exercise that active superintendence which was become  
“ more necessary than ever.

“ I know,” added he, “ that to determine you to concur effectually in all the  
“ arrangements which order and the welfare  
“ of the State require, it is necessary that  
“ distrust should cease: you ever pay a  
“ just homage to the virtues of the King—

†

“ virtues

“ virtues of which he is every day giving  
 “ new proofs ; and his Ministers should be  
 “ no obstacle to your plans, for they will  
 “ eagerly resign their cares and labours the  
 “ instant that other persons pointed out by  
 “ your confidence, or by the public opinion,  
 “ shall draw the King’s attention. Mean-  
 “ while, in the pureness of their conscience,  
 “ and the prudence of their conduct, they  
 “ will seek amends for much injustice, and  
 “ find that patience they stand in need of  
 “ against the repeated attacks to which they  
 “ are exposed.

“ Pardon me, Gentlemen, if, giving way  
 “ to my feelings, I have wandered, without  
 “ thinking, from the chief subject of this  
 “ Memorial; but you would have permitted it to one of your own members, and  
 “ being connected fully as much as any  
 “ person with public affairs, I dare hope  
 “ the same indulgence from you. Besides,  
 “ I see the time approaching, when, removed from the Administration, I shall  
 “ have no share in the promotion of the  
 “ happiness of France but by my wishes ;  
 “ and already transporting myself in  
 “ thought to that period of my life when

“ age and retirement unite us in some man-  
 “ ner to the impartiality of future times, I  
 “ address you without fear or hope; and  
 “ that situation can alone support me under  
 “ the sensations of timidity which necessa-  
 “ rily accompany the respect due to so  
 “ august an Assembly, and the infinite de-  
 “ fire which I shall always feel to please  
 “ you.”

The Assembly, satisfied with finding itself  
 so *august* and so *rich*, unanimously ap-  
 plauded the eulogium of *their bold concep-*  
*tions and commanding conduct.* The Pre-  
 sident thanked Mr. *Necker* for it with great  
 dignity, and concluded his speech with an  
 expression, the sweetness of which could  
 not but be relished by the Minister's self-  
 love. “Whoever,” said he to him, “talks  
 “ of peace, of concord, of fraternity, and  
 “ of the means of accelerating the felicity  
 “ of the Empire is always sure of the gra-  
 “ cious attention of the Assembly. Why  
 “ mix with these cheering ideas the *sad*  
 “ thought of the moment when you may  
 “ cease to co-operate in putting them into  
 “ execution? There are men who should  
 “ be acquainted only with the pleasing affec-  
 “ tions

“ tions of human nature which unite sensi-  
 “ ble beings, and not with the evils which  
 “ afflict them.”

While the genius of Mr. *Necker*, seconded by *Assignats*, was thus re-establishing order in the Finances, the genius of the Revolution was every where fomenting disorder and rebellion. In the Sitting of the 4th of June the Minister of War, *M. de la Tour-du-Pin*, was sent by the King to the Assembly, to give an account of the turbulent anarchy which prevailed in the army.

“ In several regiments,” said he, “ the  
 “ bonds of discipline are broken or relaxed ;  
 “ the ordinances forgotten ; the chests and  
 “ colours seized ; the Officers despised and  
 “ ill-treated ; and, to complete the horror,  
 “ the Commanders murdered before their  
 “ soldiers. Public order, Gentlemen, and  
 “ the happiness of the Country demand  
 “ your interposition. Unite your endeavours with the King’s, to give his Majesty’s Proclamation the commanding character of the general wish. A union of hearts, and profound respect for the laws, can alone ensure the Revolution : it is the chief object of the King’s solicitude,

“citude, who has declared himself the  
“head of it.”

The motions tending to the adoption of prompt and effectual measures for suppressing the mutiny of the regiments, or only for testifying the Assembly’s approbation to those that had not departed from discipline, and censuring the others, were all rejected. The Assembly contented themselves with voting thanks to the King for his Message, and with sending the Minister’s Memorial to the Committee, recommending to them to make their report on the constitution of the army as speedily as possible.

The President announced on the same day, that the King had informed him that he was going to spend some days at St. Cloud, and that during this and every future excursion he should make in the summer, he should return frequently to Paris, that his communications with the National Assembly might always be prompt and easy. The Municipality had been made acquainted with the King’s intention some days before, by a letter from *M. de St. Priest*, in which he expressed his Majesty’s satisfaction at the service of the Parisian National Guard about his person, and

and his desire that a detachment of the same Guard should be sent to *St. Cloud* to be on duty as long as the Royal Family remained there. These excursions were repeated several times in the course of this year, without creating the slightest ferment in the Capital; where, in spite of the incendiary writings circulated by the Factious, the King was still beloved, and his virtues idolized; and where the Assembly themselves would not have dared to fail in respect to his person, without being punished for it by that very people who were every day applauding with rapture decrees the most adverse to the Royal authority, because they did not understand them, and because, the King not being named in them, they imagined that they attacked only the authority of the Ministers, Intendants, Agents of despotism, &c.

Great and general was the applause obtained by the Reporter of the Committee of Finances (*Le Brun*), when presenting the basis on which all the heads of the expences of the State were to be regulated; and speaking of the Civil List he said: "With respect to the  
 " King's personal establishment, it is con-  
 " sistent with the greatness of the Nation to  
 " wave

“ wave the discussion of those particulars ;  
“ and to his Majesty alone it belongs to re-  
“ gulate them according to his convenience  
“ and taste : from his virtues we have but  
“ to fear too rigid an economy. You wish  
“ your Monarch to be the most magnificent  
“ of Kings, as you are the greatest of Na-  
“ tions. You would not destroy the lustre  
“ which distinguishes the French Court.—  
“ It must doubtless be your wish also that  
“ this Monarch, whom, had not Heaven  
“ bestowed him upon you, you would have  
“ chosen, may be at ease as to the income  
“ for his august family. The Restorer of  
“ French liberty should not be subject to  
“ doubts as to the expences of his house.  
“ I propose therefore that you decree, that  
“ his Majesty should be again entreated to  
“ fix his establishment in a manner corre-  
“ spondent to the majesty of his Throne, to  
“ the love and to the loyalty of a great  
“ Nation.”

This decree was immediately and unani-  
mously adopted with the liveliest acclama-  
tions ; which were in a few days renewed  
with transports of joy and inexpressible  
emotion on the reading of the King’s an-  
swer, which was as follows :

“ To

*“ To the President of the National Assembly.*

PARIS, JUNE 9, 1790.

“ SIR,

“ Divided between the principles of rigid  
 “ economy, and the consideration of ex-  
 “ pences which the lustre of the Throne  
 “ and the appearance of the Head of a  
 “ great Nation require, I could have wished  
 “ to have left it to the National Assembly to  
 “ settle the establishment of my household ;  
 “ but I yield on being again urged, and  
 “ send my answer to you, which I request  
 “ you will communicate to them.”

*The King's Answer to the National Assembly  
 respecting his Civil List, and a Pro-  
 vision for the Queen.*

“ I could have wished to leave it entirely  
 “ to the National Assembly to fix the sum  
 “ to be applied to the expences of my esta-  
 “ blishment civil and military, but the re-  
 “ petition of their request, and the expres-  
 “ sions that accompany it, have made me  
 “ change my resolution. I shall therefore  
 “ enter into a very plain explanation with  
 “ them.

“ The



“ The expences included under the title  
“ of *The King's Household* are,

“ 1st. The expences in respect to myself,  
“ the Queen, the education of my children,  
“ the establishments of my aunts, and,  
“ which I should now immediately add, the  
“ establishment my sister has a right to ex-  
“ pect from me.

“ 2dly. The buildings and *Garde-meuble*\*  
“ of the Crown.

“ Lastly, My military establishment,  
“ which, in the plans communicated to the  
“ Military Committee, was not included in  
“ the expences of the army.

“ The whole of these different heads,  
“ notwithstanding the reductions that have  
“ taken place since my accession to the  
“ Throne, amounted to thirty-one millions,  
“ besides an aid from the town of Versailles  
“ of nine hundred thousand livres, which  
“ in future will make a part of the public  
“ revenue, with the diminution owing to  
“ my constant residence at Paris.

\* The buildings where the furniture of the King's palace, and of all the Royal country seats, castles, &c. were deposited; and also the diamonds, jewels, &c. belonging to his Majesty.

“ I think

“ I think that twenty-five millions, with  
 “ the addition of the revenue arising from  
 “ the parks, demefnes, forests, and country-  
 “ houses, which I shall reserve, may, by  
 “ means of considerable retrenchments, con-  
 “ veniently suffice for those expences.

“ Although I include my military esta-  
 “ blishment in the articles I have stated, I  
 “ have not yet entered upon its arrangement.  
 “ I wish in this respect, as well as in every  
 “ other, to reconcile my views with the  
 “ new order of things. I do not hesitate to  
 “ say, that the number of troops designed for  
 “ the King’s Guards ought to be settled by  
 “ a constitutional regulation ; and as those  
 “ troops must share the honours and dan-  
 “ gers attached to the defence of the  
 “ Country, they ought to be subject to the  
 “ general rules of the army.

“ For these considerations, I have post-  
 “ poned the period of my *Gardes-du-Corps*  
 “ resuming their duty : and in this delay of  
 “ the arrangement of my military establish-  
 “ ment I feel the less inconvenience, as,  
 “ since the National Guards have taken the  
 “ duty about me, I have experienced from  
 “ them all the zeal and attachment I can  
 “ wish ; and I desire that they never may  
 “ be

“ be removed from about my person.”—

[*Here the reading was interrupted by clapping*]*—*“ It would be impossible for me to

“ discharge from a confined annual fund

“ the arrears of my household, with which

“ the Assembly are acquainted, and I desire

“ that they will include this debt in the

“ general plans of liquidation.

“ I think, that as the Constitution prohi-

“ bits the sale of Offices, the money paid for

“ those of my household, and for those of

“ my brothers’, should be ordered to be re-

“ turned, and to make a part of the pre-

“ ceding article. This arrangement will

“ naturally be attended to by the Assembly ;

“ and it will be so much the more just, as

“ they who had sacrificed considerable sums

“ of money to purchase the offices, had

“ grounds for depending on favours which

“ the new order of things no longer suffers

“ them to hope.

“ I shall conclude with the article which

“ I have most at heart.

“ By my marriage contract I engaged

“ that the Queen, if she survived me, should

“ have a suitable house reserved for her :

“ she has given up that which has ever

“ been reserved for the Queens of France,

“ and

“ and which was valued at more than  
“ four millions of livres.

“ This is an additional reason for my  
“ wishing, that the indefinite engagement  
“ which I entered into with her and her  
“ august mother should be rendered certain  
“ by the settlement of a proper provision :  
“ it will be grateful to my feelings to owe  
“ to the Representatives of the Nation my  
“ ease on a point which so essentially con-  
“ cerns my happiness.

“ Having now complied with the wishes  
“ of the National Assembly, with the con-  
“ fidence which ought to reign between  
“ them and me, let me add, that I never  
“ will oppose them in any arrangement re-  
“ lative to my own person. My true in-  
“ terests are those of the Kingdom ; and pro-  
“ vided that liberty and public order, those  
“ two sources of the prosperity of a State,  
“ be secured, I shall find the deficiency of  
“ my own personal enjoyments made up,  
“ and even exceeded, by the satisfaction I  
“ shall reap from the daily view of public  
“ felicity.

(Signed)                      LOUIS.”

I have already mentioned the effect which this answer produced. Scarcely was it read, when it was proposed to decree immediately all the articles it contained; at which the whole Assembly rose at once, without waiting for the question being put to the vote, and it was determined that the King's letter should itself be the Decree, only inserting at the bottom, that all the articles of it had been decreed unanimously and by acclamation. Amidst the shouts of *Vive le Roi* with which the Hall still rung more than ever, it was proposed to go instantly in a body to the King; and this emotion, truly French, would have hurried the whole Assembly to the Palace, had not *Barnave* stopped them by observing, with his usual unfeelingness, "That as the business only related to a pecuniary arrangement between the Nation and the King, it would not be a well-judged occasion to go in a body to his Majesty; that so solemn a step had not been taken in more important circumstances; and that it would be enough if the President were charged to acquaint the King with the determination of the Assembly, and of the manner in which it had passed."

This

This frozen motion was seconded and decreed; and the Sitting concluded with settling the Queen's jointure at an annual sum of four millions, according to the King's desire.

When the King was informed of these decrees, and of the manner in which they had been passed, he was infinitely more affected by the eager emotions of the Assembly than by their decrees; yet his Majesty appeared particularly sensible of that which related to the Queen's settlement, and he charged the President, *M. de Bonnay*, to testify his gratitude for it to the Assembly.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

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*Decree of the Assembly relative to the Institution of the Festival of the Federation—Deputation of the Conquerors of the Bastille—Burlesque Deputation of the four Quarters of the World—Motion against the four Figures chained at the Foot of Louis XIV.'s Statue in the Place des Victoires—Motions against the Titles of Nobility, against Hereditary Nobility, against Armorial Bearings and Liveries, and against the Appellations of Monseigneur, &c.—Decrees conformable to all these Motions—Observations published by Mr. Necker against those Decrees—The Tennis-Court Oath engraved on a Brass Plate, carried in Triumph by the*

*the People, and presented to the Assembly  
—Massacres at Avignon—Affair of Count  
de Lautree and Viscount Mirabeau—The  
latter compared with his elder Brother.*

THE Revolution gained ground, but the crimes which had produced it attached to its principal epochas recollections full of horror. That of the 14th of July 1789, from which the founders of the new French liberty had agreed to date its pretended regeneration, brought to mind numberless villanies ; particularly the murder of *De Launay* and *De Fleffelles* ; their bleeding heads borne in triumph on pikes ; the massacre of the poor unarmed Invalids found in the Bastille, and many others. It is true, that it also brought to mind that famous siege, that exploit as ridiculous as guilty, which the lowest mob had, in their rhodomontades, called *the conquest of the Bastille* ; and as the crimes which had been the consequence of it had consummated the annihilation of the Royal authority, it was the period the memory of which the Factious chose to immortalize, by celebrating its anniversary with the most brilliant national festival that had ever been kept. The solemn taking of *the civic*



*oath on the altar of the Country* was the object of it. Deputies from all the National Guards throughout the kingdom, and from all the military corps, were to be called to Paris for this purpose. The Assembly fixed the number of them at one man for every two hundred of the National Guards in each district; but in the districts above two hundred leagues distant from the Capital, one for every four hundred. The expences of the journey of these Deputies, both going and coming, were to be settled and borne by their respective districts. With respect to the troops of the line, it was decreed, that every regiment of foot should send an Officer, and a Warrant-officer who had served the longest with the regiment, and the four oldest soldiers: and that each regiment of horse should send two Officers and two troopers. The address of the Citizens of Paris to all the French, published on this occasion, is an historical paper, the more interesting as it shows what were then the opinions, principles, and official style of the Constituted Authorities of the Capital. It was signed by *M. de la Fayette*, *M. Bailly* the Mayor, and by a *Sieur Charon*, President

dent of the Deputies of the Commune of Paris, and is as follows :

“ *Dear Brothers and brave Friends!*

“ Never did more imperious circumstances call upon *all the French* to unite with one mind, to rally boldly about the Law, and promote with all their power the establishment of the Constitution\*.

“ This wish lately expressed by the most beloved of Kings, this wish which we have all formed, we propose to you now to accomplish.

“ Ten months are scarcely elapsed since the memorable æra when from the walls of the conquered Bastille there arose a sudden shout of *Frenchmen, we are free!* On the same day let the more affecting shout be heard of *Frenchmen, we are brothers.*

“ Yes, we are brothers—we are free—we have one country. At length, after being too long bent under the yoke, we resume the proud attitude of a Nation conscious of its dignity.

“ The edifice of the Constitution rises :

\* The King's Proclamation of the 28th of May 1790.

“ the storms of politics, the struggles of  
“ interest and of envy, and the efforts of  
“ time, shall break against it and be lost.

“ *We are no longer either Bretons or*  
“ *Anjouviens*, say our brothers of Britany  
“ and of Anjou: like them we say, We are  
“ no longer Parisians, we are all Frenchmen,  
“ The examples you set have inspired  
“ us with a great thought; you will adopt  
“ it, for it is worthy of you.

“ You have sworn to be united by the  
“ indissoluble bonds of a holy fraternity; to  
“ defend the Constitution of the State, the  
“ Decrees of the National Assembly, and  
“ the lawful authority of our Kings, to your  
“ latest breath: we as well as you have  
“ taken that solemn oath; let us, it is time,  
“ let us make of all these federations one  
“ general confederation.

“ How glorious will be the day of the  
“ covenant of the French! A nation of  
“ brothers, the regenerators of the Empire,  
“ a Citizen-King, assembled to take a com-  
“ mon oath upon the altar of the Country  
“ —What an august and novel sight to  
“ surrounding Nations!

“ We would go to the extremities of the  
“ Kingdom to join with you in this so-

“ lemnity, but that our Legislators and our  
 “ King reside within our walls: gratitude  
 “ keeps us with them, and calls you; we  
 “ should together present them with the  
 “ view of a grateful, happy, and a free  
 “ Nation, as a reward for their virtues and  
 “ their labours.

“ You will be with us, brave warriors!  
 “ our brothers in arms and our friends!  
 “ who have set us the example of civism  
 “ and courage, who have defeated the pro-  
 “ jects of despotism, and who have felt,  
 “ that to save your Country was to fulfil  
 “ your oaths.

“ And you, Frenchmen! whose presence  
 “ would have been so grateful to us, but  
 “ who are separated from us by seas or im-  
 “ mense regions, you will hear with the  
 “ expression of our regret that we were to-  
 “ gether in thought, and that in spite of  
 “ distance you were placed amidst your  
 “ brothers at the festival of the Country.

“ It was on the 14th of July that we re-  
 “ covered liberty; it shall be on the 14th of  
 “ July that we will swear to preserve it.  
 “ On the same day, and at the same hour,  
 “ let a general and unanimous shout of *God*  
 “ *blefs the Nation, the Law, and the*  
 “ *King!*

“ *King!* resound through every part of  
“ France: and let it be ever the shout of  
“ rallying to the friends of the Country,  
“ and of terror to its enemies.

“ Of its enemies!—No, Frenchmen!  
“ the Country, Liberty, and the Constitu-  
“ tion, will no longer have enemies, from  
“ the moment we shall have guarded these  
“ objects of our worship and of our love  
“ with all the public force. Then will all  
“ those men who still wear and seem to  
“ cherish their chains, rise to the height of  
“ our common destiny, and aspire to the  
“ honour of seeing their names inscribed in  
“ this family compact, the monument of  
“ our glory, and everlasting surety of the  
“ felicity of this Empire.

“ We are, with an inviolable attachment,  
“ dear brothers, and brave friends, your  
“ Countrymen,

“ *The Citizens of all the Districts of*  
“ *Paris assembled.*

“ (Signed) LA FAYETTE, *Commander in*  
“ *Chief of the Parisian National*  
“ *Guards.*

“ BAILLY, *Mayor of Paris.*

“ CHARON,

“ CHARON, *President of the Deputies of*  
 “ *the Commune of Paris for the Na-*  
 “ *tional Confederation.*

“ PASTORET, }  
 “ LAFISSE, } *Secretaries.”*

All these patriotic arts were put in practice to conceal the real object of the Federation, and were devised only to ensure the oath and support of all the National Guards of the Kingdom, in favour of the new Constitution, and thus to cure the radical defect with which it was tainted, by the absolute want of power in those who had joined in the forming of it.

The fermentation excited by the approach of this great day in all the revolutionary heads, the assaults made upon one another by the different parties that were rivals in popularity, and the mad sacrifices they contended in making, from the hope of rendering themselves still more popular, produced scenes and decrees incredibly extravagant.— The Assembly had never in their most tumultuous Sitzings exhibited a show of insanity more complete than that which the 19th of June presented. It might have been said that the august Representatives of  
 France

France had devoted that day to represent only the portion of the Nation confined in the mad-houses, at Charenton, and in all the lunatic hospitals of the Kingdom.

*June 19th.*] The Assembly were scarcely met when a Deputation of that band of ruffians of the Fauxbourg *St. Antoine*, who since the 14th of July the year before had arrogated to themselves the title of Conquerors of the Bastille, was introduced at the bar\*. The festival of the Federation being only the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, could not but bring to mind very strongly the gratitude that was due to those who were supposed to have rendered so important a service; and this was the moment they chose to ask for the reward of it. The advocate *Camus*, who was charged with the report of their demand, recounted with rapture all their prodigies of valour, wondered that they had received no recompense before this time, and declared, that

\* To these ragged heroes we must ascend for the origin and illustration of *Sansculotism*, and it was in honour of them that the Constitution of 1793 bestowed the name of *Sansculotides* on the five last days of the year, according to the Republican Calendar, since called *complementary days*.

the

the Nation, itself solicited a reward for these brave citizens, who thought nothing of their losses and their wounds, provided they might enjoy the honour of having saved their country. The Decree he moved was adopted *with acclamation*, and was in substance as follows :

“ The Assembly, struck with admiration  
 “ at the heroic intrepidity of THE CON-  
 “ QUERORS OF THE BASTILLE, decree,  
 “ that they shall be provided with a suit of  
 “ regimentals and arms, complete. Upon  
 “ the barrel of the musket, and the blade  
 “ of the sword, shall be placed these  
 “ words :—*Given by the Nation to N——,*  
 “ *a Conqueror of the Bastille.* There shall  
 “ be delivered to each of them an honoura-  
 “ ble certificate expressive of the gratitude  
 “ of the country. A similar certificate  
 “ shall also be delivered to the widows of  
 “ those who fell at the siege of the Bastille.  
 “ A place shall be appointed for them at  
 “ the Federation of the 14th of July, where  
 “ France may contemplate at leisure the  
 “ first restorers of liberty. They shall be  
 “ inscribed in the archives of the Nation,  
 “ and



“ proaching deliverance of their unhappy  
“ countrymen. You will see in your train  
“ free men, whose countries are in chains—  
“ whose countries shall one day be free by  
“ the influence of your unshaken courage,  
“ and of your philosophical laws.

“ No embassy was ever more sacred.—  
“ Our credentials are not figured upon  
“ parchment, but our mission is written in  
“ indelible characters upon the heart of  
“ every man; and, thanks to the authors  
“ of the Declaration of Rights, those characters will no longer be unintelligible to  
“ tyrants. You have proved beyond a  
“ doubt, that the Sovereignty resides in the  
“ People: now the People every where are  
“ under the yoke of Dictators, who call  
“ themselves Sovereigns, in spite of your  
“ principles. The Dictatorship is usurped,  
“ but the Sovereignty is inviolable; and  
“ the Ambassadors of tyrants could not do  
“ so much honour to your august festival as  
“ most of us whose mission is tacitly acknowledged by our countrymen, that is  
“ to say, by oppressed Sovereigns. What a  
“ lesson for despots! what a consolation for  
“ unfortunate nations, when we shall in-  
“ form

“ form them that the first Nation of Europe,  
 “ in assembling its banners, has given the  
 “ signal of the happiness of France, and  
 “ of the two worlds !

“ We will wait, Gentlemen, in respect-  
 “ ful silence, your determination on the Pe-  
 “ tition which has been dictated to us by  
 “ the enthusiasm of universal Liberty.”

The Assembly several times interrupted the speaker by long plaudits, and the President (*Menou*) made the following reply :—

“ The National Assembly consent to your  
 “ taking a part in the ceremony at the Fe-  
 “ deration of France in arms ; but they  
 “ attach one condition to their consent,  
 “ which is, that when you return to your  
 “ respective countries you will relate to  
 “ your countrymen what you have seen.”

The Deputy Turk, or he who was so called, made an attempt to speak, but his broken French was understood by nobody. It was precisely the scene of the *Mamamouchi* of *Moliere* ; and the simplicity with which the enraptured Assembly was the dupe of this farce, placed them in the character of

the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* as completely as that of the Turkish Prince was sustained by the Deputation\*.

“ Citizens

\* *M. de Boulainvilliers*, who was that day at the Assembly, observed among the Deputation a negro who belonged to one of his friends. “ Ah, *Azor!*” said he to him, “ what are you come to do here?”—“ Heigh, “ *Massa!*” replied the negro, “ no me do de Afri-  
“ can?”

It was discovered the next day, that this embassy of all the nations of the earth to the most august Assembly of the universe, and which formed the train of the *Baron de Cloatz* †, was entirely composed of vagabonds and foreign servants hired at 12 livres a head. The secret was betrayed by an orthographical error. One of the vagabonds of the Deputation went the next day to the *Marquis de Biancourt*, a member of the Assembly, and asked to be paid his 12 livres. “ What do you mean by your 12 livres?” said *M. de Biancourt*, “ I do not know you, and how do I owe you any thing?” “ Because, Sir, it was I who did the Chaldean yesterday in the Assembly; we were engaged for 12 livres a piece, and I was desired to come to you to be paid.”—“ Indeed, Mr. Chaldean, you have been sent to a wrong person; I know nothing of the engagement you talk of, and have nothing to do in

† This pretended *Baron de Cloatz*, who afterwards took the name of *Anacharsis Cloatz*, and the title of *Speaker of the Human Race*, was chosen a member of the Convention, and guillotined under the reign of *Robespierre* towards the end of March 1794.

“ that

“ Citizens assembled from all parts of  
 “ the world,” cried the Deputy *Fermont*,  
 “ are come to offer you the noblest homage  
 “ you can possibly receive in recompense  
 “ for your labours : I move that their re-  
 “ quest be granted by acclamation, and that  
 “ the speech of their leader be printed with  
 “ the President’s answer.”

“ Gentlemen,” said *Alexander de La-  
 meth*, “ I second the motion made in fa-  
 “ vour of these generous strangers. But  
 “ I have another idea to lay before you : the  
 “ day on which the Deputies of all the Pro-  
 “ vinces are to assemble to swear to that  
 “ Constitution which promises liberty and

“ that business.” *M. de Biancourt* made no secret of  
 this visit, and the particulars even got into several new-  
 papers. It was pretty generally suspected that an ill-  
 shaped L taken for a B had caused the poor Chaldean’s  
 mistake, and the Duke *de Liancourt* was in consequence  
 supposed to be the Treasurer of the Embassy ; which  
 however he has constantly denied. The author of this  
 farce has been sought and asked for in vain ; he has never  
 made himself known ; and it is not yet very clear whe-  
 ther the imposition was meant to be put upon the Public,  
 or on the Assembly only. Certain it is, that the Public  
 was not imposed upon, and that the Assembly were, or  
 appeared to be, completely so.

“ equality to all Frenchmen, should not re-  
“ call to any of them, ideas of humiliation  
“ and servitude. The figures representing  
“ four Provinces, the Deputies of which  
“ have always been esteemed in this Assem-  
“ bly among the firmest supporters of the  
“ rights of the Nation, are chained as  
“ images of tributary nations at the feet  
“ of the statue of *Louis XIV.* Gentlemen,  
“ shall we suffer the eyes of the citizens  
“ who are coming to swear to the Consti-  
“ tution for those generous Provinces to  
“ be struck with a sight not to be borne by  
“ free men? Those monuments of pride  
“ cannot stand in the reign of Equality.—  
“ Erect statues to Princes who have deserved  
“ well of their country; dedicate one to  
“ the memory of the Restorer of Liberty;  
“ but haste to destroy emblems that degrade  
“ the dignity of man, and which must  
“ wound citizens whom we honour and  
“ cherish. I move, that the four figures in  
“ chains, at the bottom of the statue of  
“ *Louis XIV.* in the *Place des Victoires*, be  
“ taken away before the 14th of July.”

This motion, which the *Coté-Droit* en-  
deavoured to get rid of, was followed by  
I several

several others not less constitutional.—

“ This day,” said the Deputy *Lambel*, “ we  
 “ dig the grave of Vanity : I move that all  
 “ persons be prohibited from taking the  
 “ titles of Peer, Duke, Count, Marquis,  
 “ &c. &c. and that Nobility be no longer  
 “ hereditary.”

This motion was strongly supported by  
*Charles de Lameth*, who maintained that the  
 titles of Duke, Count, &c. being repugnant  
 to the equality which formed the basis of  
 the new Constitution, and being derived  
 from the Feodal system which was abolished,  
 could not exist without evident absurdity ;  
 and that all citizens, therefore, should be pro-  
 hibited using any of those titles in their legal  
 writings. “ Hereditary Nobility,” added  
 he, “ shocks reason, and is repugnant to  
 “ true liberty. There is no political equa-  
 “ lity, no emulation left for virtue, where  
 “ citizens have any other dignity but that  
 “ which is annexed to the offices they fill;  
 “ any other glory but that which they owe  
 “ to their actions: the title of Noble,  
 “ therefore, ought also to be prohibited  
 “ in legal writings. As for those who in  
 “ common conversation, and in their letters,  
 “ might affect still to preserve those puerile

“ distinctions, they will be punished in being pointed at as among those who still misconceive our happy Revolution.”

At this time there existed a very marked rivalry between *M. de la Fayette* and the *Lameths*. The latter maintained a constant superiority over him in the Jacobin Club, and their popularity began to gain greatly upon his throughout the Capital. The repeated applauses which they had lately obtained gave *M. de la Fayette* as much uneasiness as embarrassment. His share of applause was necessary to make up a little for the start his rivals had got of him, and of which they had not failed to make the most; for none were more able than they to manage revolutionary means, and the art of profiting by circumstances. But at that moment of delirium, the only sentiments applauded were those of the most outrageous democracy, and it was difficult to strike out any thing to equal the extravagance of what had already been moved. Meanwhile then, till *M. de la Fayette's* patriotism should suggest to him some motion of the same nature, he contented himself with approving with dignity that which had been made by *Charles de Lameth*. “ This motion,” said he

he with great emphasis, “ is so necessary, that  
 “ I do not think it will have occasion  
 “ to be supported; but if it has, I declare  
 “ I second it with all my heart.”

After him a Deputy of the *Tiers-Etat* (*Goupil de Prefeln*) supported all the motions that had been made, and showed that the same ideas had long been the object of his meditations. In fact, he presented the plan of a Decree already drawn up, which included them all, and in which was added the suppression of the titles of *Monseigneur* and *nos Seigneurs* in every state and rank, the Princes only excepted.

This exception afforded an opening to *M. de la Fayette*, and he made it the subject of a brilliant motion. “ I desire,” said he, “ to make an observation on this exception. In a free country, there is no distinction but of citizens and public officers. I know that the hereditary magistracy of the King requires great energy: but why give the title of Prince to men who in my eyes are but active citizens when they have the qualifications for such\*?”

*M. de*

\* This motion would no doubt have been excusable,



*M. de Noailles* declared that he should support with all his strength, the motions that had been made; and moved further, that, in future, incense be reserved for the Deity, and be no more used in homage to men, let their rank and quality be what they may. He also besought the Assembly to take into their consideration the degraded class of servants, and order that in future no livery be worn.

*M. de St. Fargeau* moved for an order that every citizen should use only his family name, and not that of an estate; and, true to his principle, subscribed his motion simply *Louis Michel le Pelletier*.

if the infamous Duke of *Orleans* had been the only Prince of the Blood in France; but, Heaven be praised! the illustrious race of the *Bourbons* then had, and still has, many august branches of the blood of *St. Louis*, *Louis XII.* and *Henry IV.* magnanimous Princes, who have shown themselves in their misfortunes more worthy than ever of recovering the inheritance of their ancestors, by proving that they have inherited all their virtues. Alas! for seven years past has France, bewildered, been expiating, by the most dreadful calamities, the crime of forgetting their kindness, and denying their rights. May she, now awakened by the continuation of her disasters, at length repair errors that have been so fatal to her; and soon recover the tranquillity, safety, and happiness she has lost!

*Mathieu*

*Mathieu de Montmorenci* was at first grieved for having come too late to the Assembly, and found the field of reforms completely reaped; but was again soon delighted to have still to move, on this day of the general annihilation of anti-social distinctions, the abolition of those that most recalled to mind the feudal system and spirit of chivalry. He meant armorial bearings, and moved the suppression of them.

A member of the Order of the Nobility rising to move an amendment of this motion, was suddenly interrupted by these words from one of his colleagues:—"A Gentleman can move no amendment—he cannot compound with honour."

*M. de Sillery* observed, that as their Kings could no more have private quarrels, the legend *ultima ratio Regum* which was stamped on the cannon ought to be effaced.

The Abbé *Maury* supported *M. de St. Fargeau's* motion for resuming family names, but opposed all the other motions.—He defended the glory of *Louis XIV.* and the Nobility with his usual eloquence.—"The Romans," said he, "had Orders  
" of

“ of Knighthood, and yet were free. In  
“ France the Nobility is Constitutional; to  
“ destroy it is to destroy the Monarchy.”  
He concluded with moving, that the discussion of so important a question should be adjourned till the morning.

This motion was supported by those members of the Nobility of the *Coté-Droit*, who spoke in this Sitting. — They did not doubt that such extravagant propositions, discussed coolly and before dinner, would be rejected by a great majority. Many kept silence from a thorough persuasion that the more extravagant these Decrees were the less could they be maintained; and that they might in their fall draw down many others. Indeed it was pretty generally believed, that the chief view of those who made the most violent motions, and particularly of *M. de la Fayette*, was to have Decrees passed, that were so absurd and subversive of the essential principles of the Monarchy, that the King would be under the necessity of refusing them his sanction. The people might have been the more easily satisfied on this refusal, from having read some days before in the public papers, a letter  
written

written by *M. de St. Priest* to *Cherin* the genealogist, informing him "that his Majesty desired that he would receive no more genealogical documents, which might be previously offered for his examination by the Gentlemen of the Nobility who wished to be introduced at Court." This order, by which a favour was extended to Plebeians that had till that time been granted only to Gentlemen, abolished the only honourable distinction the Nobility had remaining; for all their honorary rights, privileges, and pecuniary exemptions, were already taken from them; and for a length of time the rich of all classes were allowed to take what arms and livery they pleased. Thus, if Nobility still recalled to the minds of real Gentlemen the virtues or the services of their ancestors, and the duty of imitating them; it neither was nor could be regarded by the multitude but as a word absolutely void of meaning, which could as little provoke jealousy as flatter vanity. There was, therefore, no fear of an insurrection at Paris on account of the refusal to sanction the Decrees in question, a refusal which the Factious had much more powerful reasons for desiring.—  
They

They would have magnified it to the utmost, to dispel the doubt of the King's liberty since his residence in the Capital, and to prove that it was with his own free consent he had given his sanction to all the Decrees before presented to him, as it only depended upon him to refuse it; that such sanction had therefore been an act absolutely free, and was consequently incontestably valid. But if such were the hope of the motion-makers of the 19th of June, it was completely disappointed. The King, fearing to weaken the manifest nullity of the sanction which he had been forced to give to all the Decrees passed since the outrages of the 5th and 6th of October, sanctioned also on the 28th of June the Decrees of the 19th, notwithstanding the entreaties of Mr. *Necker*, who wished the King not to assent to the Decree degrading the Nobility, till he had offered his observations to the National Assembly. The Council did not approve of that step, and were of opinion that the sanction should be pure and unqualified. Mr. *Necker* did not the less persist in his opinion, and made a showy display of his opposition to that of his colleagues, by a Memorial which he published with the King's consent,

sent, in which he discussed the Decrees of the 19th of June, and proved with all possible politeness that they were equally foolish, unjust, and impolitic; and indeed we have but to read them to be convinced that they are so.

The first Decree:—(*June 19.*)—"The  
 " National Assembly taking into considera-  
 " tion, that at the approach of the great day  
 " which is to unite the citizens from every  
 " part of France for the National Federa-  
 " tion, it imports the glory of the Nation  
 " not to suffer the existence of any monu-  
 " ment that recalls ideas of slavery offensive  
 " to the provinces united to the Kingdom;  
 " that it becomes the dignity of a free peo-  
 " ple to consecrate only actions which they  
 " may themselves have judged and acknow-  
 " ledged to be great and useful; have de-  
 " creed and do decree, that the four chained  
 " figures in the *Place des Victoires* shall be  
 " removed before the 14th of July next; and  
 " the present Decree, after receiving the  
 " King's sanction, shall be sent to the Mu-  
 " nicipality of Paris to be put in exe-  
 " cution."

The second Decree:— "The National  
 " Assembly decree, that Hereditary Nobility  
 " is

“ is for ever abolished : that in consequence,  
“ the titles of Duke, Count, Marquis, Vis-  
“ count, Vidame, Baron, Chevalier, Mes-  
“ sire, Esquire, Noble, and all other such  
“ titles, shall neither be taken by nor given  
“ to any person whatsoever.

“ That every citizen shall take only the  
“ real name of his family ; that no person  
“ can either wear or cause to be worn a  
“ livery, or use armorial bearings ; that in-  
“ cense shall be burnt in places of worship  
“ only in honour of the Deity, and shall not  
“ be offered to any creature whatever.

“ That the titles of Monseigneur and Mes-  
“ seigneurs, of Excellency, Highness, Emi-  
“ nence and Greatness, shall never be ap-  
“ plied either to any body of men, or any  
“ individual. Provided nevertheless, that  
“ no citizen, under pretence of the present  
“ Decree, can or may make any attempt  
“ to injure the monuments fixed in the  
“ churches, or the charters, titles, and other  
“ documents concerning families or pro-  
“ perty, or the decorations of any public or  
“ private place ; and provided that the exe-  
“ cution of the regulation relative to liveries  
“ and arms painted on carriages, be not en-  
“ forced or required by any person whatso-  
“ ever

“ ever before the 14th of July, as to citizens  
 “ residing at Paris ; and before three months  
 “ as to such as live in the provinces. The  
 “ regulations of the present Decree shall not  
 “ extend to foreigners, who may continue  
 “ to use their liveries and armorial bearings  
 “ in France.”

It was not till the conclusion of the debate which preceded these decrees, that the *Coté-Droit* of the Assembly began to perceive that it was seriously proposed to pass them ; when several Deputies of the Nobility sprang towards the tribune, and demanded with warmth to be heard, but were refused amidst the general shouts of the *Coté-Gauche* and of the galleries. The question was put on both decrees, and they were passed by a great majority at eleven o'clock at night.

As the Assembly was going to break up, a deputation of the citizens of Paris was introduced into the Hall, preceded by a plate of brass, decked with a crown of oak-leaves, and on which the oath taken by the Commons in the Tennis-Court at Versailles, on the 20th of June the preceding year, was engraved. One of the members of the Deputation said, “ That the next day being the  
 “ anniversary of the oath which the Depu-  
 “ ties



“ ties had sworn to render France free, this  
“ monument should be carried in a solemn  
“ manner, and fixed in the place which had  
“ been consecrated by that memorable act.”

This address, and the patriotic reply made to it by the President, obtained the greatest applause; and the Assembly rose amidst transports of joy and noisy acclamations. It was too much like the night of the 4th of August preceding, not to terminate like it. And it was in the delirium of those turbulent orgies that the Representatives of the French Nation destroyed its ancient Constitution, and substituted in its stead the most absurd reveries, under the imposing title of *Constitutional Decrees!*

Several other remarkable events happened in the month of June 1790. On the 10th, the most violent commotions broke out at Avignon. In the account sent by the Municipal Officers of the town to the Assembly, they accused the *Aristocrats* of having seized on the *Hotel-de-Ville* and four cannon, and of having fired from all quarters on the honest citizens, on the good patriots, more than thirty of whom had fallen victims to their zeal. The people had marched against those assassins, had seized and sacrificed four  
of

of them; twenty-two more had been arrested, and would have been put to death if the National Guards of the neighbouring Communes, who had flown to the assistance of Avignon, had not prevented it. The next day all the districts of the town assembled, and unanimously voted an union of the Comtat of Avignon with France. The armorials of the Holy See were immediately destroyed or removed, and the arms of France put in their place with great pomp, amidst the cries of *Vive la Nation, la Loi, et le Roi!* The Assembly were informed of this event by an extraordinary messenger, who arrived at Paris on the 17th of June. His dispatches announced that four Deputies had been appointed to repair immediately to the Assembly to solicit their consent to the union.

While the fatal name of *Aristocrats* was thus raising the Avignon mob against the Nobles and Priests, and the Pope was stripped of a portion of his States, as a punishment no doubt for his presumed aristocracy, two Deputies of the Order of the Nobility, Count *de Toulouse-Lautrec* and Viscount *de Mirabeau*, who were absent on leave, were arrested; the former by the Municipality of Toulouse, and the latter by that of Castel-

naudarry. *M. de Lautrec* was accused of taking steps to raise an insurrection, and of endeavouring to bribe the men of the National Guards to prevent the partial federation which was to take place at Toulouse on the 14th of July, and to restore the old system. The King's Solicitor of the Seneschal's jurisdiction hearing by public rumour of this pretended plot, denounced it on the 17th of June by a formal information to the Municipality, who, on the deposition of two or three of the Guards, ordered *M. de Lautrec* to be arrested. This was done the next day by a detachment of the National Guards, at a country-house where he had been residing since the 10th of June, the day of his arrival, in spite of his quality of Deputy and the inviolability annexed to it. He was detained at the *Hotel-de-Ville*, where he underwent an examination; in which he formally denied all the charges brought against him, and the bribes he was accused of having offered. He was notwithstanding kept in custody; but the Municipality staid the proceedings against him, until they should receive orders from the National Assembly, to whom they sent an account of the affair. . . .

The

The Viscount *de Mirabeau* had more wit and natural talents, but less knowledge, than his elder brother: his character was in high estimation for his frankness and sincerity, his romantic bravery, his sentiments of honour, and his loyalty to the King; yet he was superior to his brother still more by his qualifications than by his virtues. The elder *Mirabeau*, early plunged by the violence of his passions and by the uncommon vigour of his constitution into all manner of excess, had shaken off the yoke of principles, and had substituted in their place systems ever dependent, as to his conduct, on the sordid calculations of interest. His long and frequent imprisonments had considerably soured and hardened his disposition, and in the course of them he had also acquired the habit of reflecting deeply, of considering a question under all its points of view, and of supporting with equal strength the affirmative or negative; whence that readiness, that superiority in reply which gave him an immense advantage over all his opponents. Unfortunately, the best cause was always in his opinion that for which he was best paid, and his eloquence at the service of the highest bidder. He has been unjustly accused of cowardice:

on several occasions when his life only was at stake he has given unequivocal proofs of courage. But he was often dastardly through avarice or vanity : there was no insult however serious which he could not bear when he had a large sum to receive, or an important speech to deliver in the Assembly next day ; and it seldom happened but that one or other of these was the case. Being a Royalist on conviction, he would have supported the throne very powerfully, had not Mr. *Necker* scrupled to purchase his services ; and it was not till he refused them that he offered them to the democratic party, who paid much more for them than he would have got from the Court.

*Mirabeau* was far from being the author of all the speeches he delivered from the tribune. His attendance at the Assembly, and the parties of pleasure, or rather of immoderate debauch, in which he was perpetually engaged, left him no time to write them, even had his head been sufficiently at liberty to compose them. He had at command a certain number of writers, of more wit than fortune, who, flattered by his patronage, encouraged by his promises, and assisted at times by trifling sums from his purse,

purse, did themselves the honour of working for him. He received them at his house at different hours, and employed them all unknown to one another; telling each, under the seal of secrecy, that he purposed to make a motion of such a nature, but that he had so little time to bestow upon thinking of it that it would be doing him a real friendship to give him some ideas, some notes which he might make use of, and that he had thought of him for such assistance. There was not one of them but went instantly to work as hard as he could, to justify the confidence of a man so celebrated as *Mirabeau*. When they had all sent in their work, he selected the best passages of each, forming a whole out of them, which he arranged and enriched in his manner with some pompous phrases, and then set out for the Assembly. His fellow-labourers, who got there before him, recognized each the particular passage he had furnished him with, admired in secret the advantage he had drawn from it, and never doubted that all the rest of the speech was his own composition: they wondered at his being able to produce so fine an oration in so short a time, and left the Hall convinced that no man had more

talents than *Mirabeau*. And there is no doubt, in fact, that he was very able, without the assistance of any body, to make as good speeches as those he thus patched up: but he had a rarer talent, and the most useful to a statesman, that of appreciating the talents of others, and extracting the greatest possible advantage from them. *Charlemagne* could hardly sign his name, and Cardinal *Richelieu* was an indifferent writer; yet the one was the greatest King, and the other the ablest Minister France ever had.

But let us return to Viscount *de Mirabeau*'s arrest, the occasion of which was this: being informed that a spirit of disorder and revolt had proceeded to a very high pitch in the regiment of Touraine, of which he was Colonel, and that out of nine hundred soldiers scarcely three hundred paid attention to their duty, he set out with the King's permission and on leave from the Assembly for Perpignan, where the regiment was in garrison. He flattered himself that his presence and endeavours would restore order and military discipline. He arrived at Perpignan on the 9th of June, and immediately wrote to the Municipal Officers to inform them of his intention to take the oath at the

the head of his regiment as soon as possible ; begging them to appoint the day, hour, and place, they pleased to receive him. The next day was fixed, and in consequence *M. de Mirabeau* issued orders for the regiment to be ready under arms to join in the ceremony : but three officers, whom personal insults had compelled to absent themselves, not having been able to procure horses to arrive at the hour appointed, the oath was postponed till their return, and the orders given the day before to the regiment were revoked. The next morning, at half-past seven o'clock, a company of soldiers with the Adjutant at their head went to *M. de Mirabeau's* house, and forced his chamber door with a great noise. He ordered them out, telling them that it was not in that manner that soldiers should enter the house of their Commander ; and they obeyed him. But he had scarcely put on his night-gown, when he was informed that above five hundred soldiers were at his gate ; to whom he sent orders for a deputation. Fifteen of them immediately went in, and asked him if it were true that it was his intention to replace the absent Officers in the regiment. He reprimanded them with dignity for the irregularity of



visit and of their questions, ordered them to return quietly to their quarters, and told them that he would himself come in a quarter of an hour, and bring them the King's orders. They thought their Colonel in the right, promised him obedience, and withdrew. The case was not the same with those who were waiting the result of this message in the street. They reproached the deputation bitterly for not having brought out their Colonel, and continued calling for him with shouts mixed with the grossest imprecations. *M. de Mirabeau* came out to them, accompanied by seven Officers. The soldiers drew up on seeing him; on which he repeated to them what he had said to their comrades, and added, that it was not in the middle of a street, or by a mutiny, that they should obtain any answer from him. He then ordered them to return to their quarters, to which a *no* unanimously vociferated was the reply. After this order had been thrice repeated, and had every time received the same reply, a soldier leaving the ranks went forwards to *M. de Mirabeau*, and said to him in a furious tone of voice: " We know that you want to bring back  
" into the regiment the people who have  
" used

“ used us ill, but they shall not come back  
 “ to it by G—d.” The threatening gestures which accompanied this expression required the more attention, as at the same time some of the soldiers were seen picking up stones. An Officer informed *M. de Mirabeau* of it, who stepped back, drew his sword, and, waving it in the air, called out, “ Officers, this way—Soldiers, obey your Commander.” At the motion made by the Officers to draw their swords, the soldiers in coming forwards from the sides of the street, rushed upon one another—some fell, others called *to arms*, to which in fact they ran, and very soon the disorder was complete. There was, however, no blood spilled. *M. de Mirabeau* went to the Mayor’s house, where he resided, and used in vain every means of mildness and conciliation he could think of, to recall the soldiers to their obedience. The Municipality supposing that the return of public tranquillity depended on his departure, requested him to leave the town. With this request he complied, and set out the next day, the 12th of June, at five o’clock in the morning, carrying with him the banners.—The regiment being informed the same morning of the departure of their Colonel, went

went at ten o'clock to the Mayor's to take away their colours, and were seized with the greatest fury on seeing them stripped of the banners. They accused the Mayor (*M. d'Aguilar*) of having connived at their being taken away; and in spite of all he could say to prove not only his innocence but his absolute ignorance of the offence imputed to him, he was forced away by the soldiers, and followed by the whole regiment to the citadel, where he was detained as a hostage, under a very strong guard, till the banners should be returned. At the same time several couriers were dispatched in pursuit of *M. de Mirabeau*, to claim the assistance of all the Municipalities on the road, in the name of the Nation, the Law, and the King, to cause that Officer to be arrested, and to compel him to restore the banners which he had carried off. The Assembly soon learned that *M. de Mirabeau* had been arrested at Castelnaudarry, where he was strictly guarded, and that the banners of the regiment had been found in his portmanteau.

On the report made by the Committee of Inquiry of this affair, and that of Count *de Toulouse-Lautrec*, it was decreed, that the Municipalities of Toulouse and Perpignan should

should immediately set them at liberty, and that they should both repair without delay to the Assembly to give an account of their conduct. They very soon arrived. The Assembly heard their justification, referred all the papers which had been sent to them on these two affairs to their Military Committee and Committees of Inquiry, and of Reports, and finally declared, after the most ample examination, that there were no grounds of impeachment against the Officers. The Viscount *de Mirabeau* spoke very nobly on the fact of carrying off the banners, which was the only one that required any explanation.

“ I made a very simple calculation,” said he. “ Three hundred soldiers, with brave  
 “ and loyal Officers, remained firm to their  
 “ duty ; it was proper to preserve for the  
 “ King this flower of a regiment which had  
 “ been so often covered with glory, and  
 “ which had ever been irreproachable. It  
 “ came into my mind to carry the banners  
 “ to the King, and I should have said to  
 “ him, ‘ Sire, send these to a distant town,  
 “ and let the soldiers who remained faithful  
 “ be called thither ; they will hasten to join  
 “ their colours.’ This project was that of  
 “ a man

“ a man of honour. It was said that the  
“ banners were found in my portmanteau—  
“ 'tis false: they were here—on my breast  
“ —they should have been taken only with  
“ my life, had not a citizen whom I confi-  
“ der more than myself (*M. d'Aguilar*)  
“ been in danger.”

To complete this narrative with exactness I should add, that the day before the Viscount *de Mirabeau* was heard, a Deputation of the revolted soldiers of the regiment of Touraine had been admitted at the bar, had there delivered a speech, which was often interrupted by the greatest applauses, and had been admitted to the honours of the Sitting, although the speech was but a continued strain of insolent declamation and falsities, proved by the authentic vouchers which the Assembly had previously received.

As the affair of the regiment of Touraine contains nearly the history of the disorganization and effects which the Revolution produced in almost all the regiments in the army, I thought it incumbent upon me to give an exact report of the principal circumstances, to show how difficult it was for brave and faithful Officers, thenceforth under the necessity of obeying instead of commanding

manding their soldiers, every day exposed to dangers without glory, and to outrages never punished, to remain with honour in a service which a general contempt of discipline had rendered equally useless to the King and to their Country; and, indeed, almost all of them resigned their commissions.

It was not only to the Deputies of mutinous regiments that the Assembly granted the honours of the Sitting; they bestowed the same distinction, and in a still more striking manner, on Deputations from foreign nations, which their chapter of the Rights of Man had excited to rebel against their lawful Sovereigns, and boasted without shame of having inspired them with the thought of that crime. When the Deputations from Avignon were introduced at the bar, and there announced that the town and State of Avignon were determined no longer to acknowledge the authority of the Pope their Sovereign, and had voted their union with France, the President made them a reply, rendered more remarkable by having been first communicated to the Assembly and approved by them. It was as follows:

“ The National Assembly will pay the  
2 “ greatest

“ greatest consideration to the object of your  
“ mission. *It is a glory to them to have in-*  
“ *spired the citizens of Avignon with the*  
“ *wishes you now express.* Whatever be  
“ the result of your resolution, the Nation  
“ will always be flattered by your affection  
“ and confidence.”

The total alienation of ecclesiastical property had been decreed the day before, and the Assembly, by their Decrees of reform or rather of annihilation of the Clergy, were encroaching every day upon the spiritual power of the Pope: the usurpation of his temporal power, and the invasion of his States, could not, to such legislators, be an object of the smallest scruple.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

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*Singular Adventure which happened at St. Cloud to two young Men deranged in Mind—The Assembly endeavour to increase their popularity by redoubling their Indulgence to villains—The Duke of Orleans writes to the Assembly, and informs them of his Departure from England, to be present at the Federation—Preparations for that Festival—The Citizens, Men and Women of all Classes, go and work in the Champ de Mars—Decree regulating the order to be observed at the Festival, and the Oath to be taken—Report respecting Pensions, tending to suppress them, and to create new ones in their stead, only to the amount of ten Millions—Denunciation of M. de St.*



*St. Priest, M. de Maillebois, and M. de Bonne-Savardin—Arrival of the Federates—Harangues—The King's Answer—Details relative to the Festival of the Federation.*

THE tranquillity enjoyed by the King during his residence at St. Cloud, was disturbed for a moment by a very strange occurrence, extremely calculated to awaken suspicion and disgust in the minds of the People.

On the 29th of June, at ten o'clock in the morning, two well dressed young men arrived at St. Cloud in a carriage. They went up to the Palace together, and seated themselves at some distance from each other, under the vestibule of the great stair-case which leads to the apartments; and there they passed the whole day, in a state absolutely motionless, and without uttering a single word. No one thought he had a right to ask them what they were doing there; and, in fact, they might have answered by quoting the chapter of *the Rights of Man*, that as they were forbidden by no law from entering that vestibule, they had a right to remain there. The guards of the  
Palace,

Palace, therefore, contented themselves with watching them narrowly till the evening, when their orders were to turn all strangers out. They were then told to withdraw.— They removed without any answer; but instead of quitting the Palace they staid in the Court, walking, with measured steps, under the windows of the King's apartments. This perseverance seemed extraordinary, and the Officer of the Guard sent them another order to depart. They then spoke for the first time, and very mildly asked, if they might not be allowed to continue in the place where they were? The Guard did not insist, and they were left there till the hour of shutting the Palace gates. In a few minutes after they had left the Court, they were met by the patrol of St. Cloud, who stopped them, and asked their names. One said he was called *Paul*, and the other that his name was *Peter*. The Guard obliged them to get into their carriage, escorted them to the bridge, and saw them go on. Soon after, this patrol heard a carriage coming, found it to be the same they had been escorting, and seeing in it the persons whom they had obliged to depart, they arrested and conducted them to the Guard-

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house. On being questioned respecting the motive that had brought them to St. Cloud, they both replied, that they had come thither *by a superior order*. Nothing more could be got from them, and they were detained in the Guard-house, where they were kept in sight.

On the next day the King being informed of what had passed, sent to assure the Municipality that he had given no order to any one to come to St. Cloud. The young men were again examined, and called upon to tell their real names, and to give an account of the superior order which they pretended to have received. The one said he was the son of *M. d'Hozier*, the genealogist; the other, that his name was *Petit-Jean*, and that he was a son of the Treasurer of Corsica; and both maintained that it was from God himself and the Virgin Mary that they had received an order to come and rescue the King from St. Cloud. In *d'Hozier's* pocket a paper was found, containing these words: “ *Louis XVI.* you  
“ have lost your crown, you will recover it  
“ at St. Cloud;” and in *Petit-Jean's* was a small image of the Virgin, and a letter signed *Mary, Mother of God*.

They

They were carried to the prison of the *Abbaye* in Paris. It was found that they had been long connected ; that for about six weeks they had been observed stationing themselves before the altar of the Virgin, in the church of *Notre Dame*, and that it was after one of those solemnities that they had set out for St. Cloud. For the short time they were in prison they preserved that pensive, tranquil, and silent demeanour for which they had been remarked in the vestibule of the great stair-case at St. Cloud. There was no doubt as to the nature of their malady, and the examination of their papers fully corroborated in that respect what their behaviour and replies to the different questions put to them clearly indicated. These circumstances being published in all the public papers happily dissipated the rumours and suspicions which this adventure had begun to create, and men the most disposed to be alarmed were forced to allow that such visionaries could not be very dangerous conspirators\*.

The

\* Physicians have observed, that the Revolution had considerably multiplied madness and idiotism in France. They have imputed the former to the species of frantic

The nearer the day of the Federation approached the more did the Assembly exert themselves to confirm their power, and they eagerly passed the most popular motions.— They decreed on the 1st of July, that the criminal proceedings pending in the Court of Aids against the brigands who had pillaged and burnt the barriers at Paris in July the year preceding, should be dropped, and that all persons detained in prison by virtue of Decrees given in those proceedings should be set at liberty. The preamble of this Decree displays a very remarkable popularity, where it says, “ that the continuation of  
“ those proceedings would spread alarms,

delirium which the fanaticism of Liberty and Equality brought upon a great number of people, and the latter to the violent and sudden impression or extreme stupor produced by the unexpected sight of massacres and other scenes of horror, which so often stained this period throughout the Kingdom, but principally at Paris. The adventure of *d'Hozier* and *Petit-Jean* indicates a third cause of insanity. Alas! they are not the only persons whose reason has been shaken by the feelings excited by the misfortunes and dangers of the King. The Revolutionary writers have mentioned those numerous victims of their loyalty, only to turn them into ridicule; so far they have played their part, but the part of history is to reject such atrocious sarcasms with indignation, and posterity will make amends by honourable regret.

“ not only in the Capital, but also in all  
 “ the Departments where similar proceed-  
 “ ings might be carried on ; that, besides,  
 “ if some excesses had accompanied the  
 “ emotions of the people, who were reco-  
 “ vering their rights, which at any other  
 “ juncture, would have been severely pu-  
 “ nished, they were so connected with the  
 “ concomitant events, that in prosecuting  
 “ the authors of them, there would be great  
 “ danger of confounding the innocent with  
 “ the guilty.”—“ Do the present Judges,”  
 cried the reporter, “ wish to leave no regret  
 “ after them ? Do they wish before they lay  
 “ down’ their office to revenge the sup-  
 “ pression of the ancient system ? Shall the  
 “ 14th of July, which is to be a day of feast-  
 “ ing and happiness for French Citizens,  
 “ be a day of mourning and tears to any ?  
 “ Under these circumstances, a veil should  
 “ be drawn over the statue of the Law.”

What a tender concern for villains!—For  
 what crimes did the Assembly reserve their  
 severity, if robbery and the firing of build-  
 ings obtained not only indulgence from  
 them, but something like praise ? *M. de la*  
*Touche*, a member of the Assembly, and  
 Chancellor to the Duke of *Orleans*, could

not choose a more favourable moment for obtaining the approbation of the Assembly for the Duke's return to France, in order to be present at the Federation. To ensure a more ready support of this application from the *Coté-Gauche*, *M. de la Touche* was very cautious, in making it, not to give the Duke of *Orleans* any other title than that of *Monsieur*, conformably to the nocturnal Decree of the 19th of June, the compliance with which, in this instance at least, wounded nobody's ears. "I address you," said *M. de la Touche* in the Sitting of the 6th of July, "to submit facts concerning Mr. " *Louis-Joseph-Philip* of France, (here-  
" tofore Duke of *Orleans*) which are  
" contained in the letter I am going to read,  
" and I rely on the justice of the National  
" Assembly for their decision."

He then read the following letter ;

" *London, July 3d, 1790.*

" I request you, Sir, to lay before the  
" National Assembly, as soon as possible,  
" the following narrative of facts :

" On the 25th of last month I did my-  
" self the honour of writing to the King,  
" to

“ to inform his Majesty of my intention to  
 “ repair immediately to Paris: my letter  
 “ must have been received by *M. de Mont-*  
 “ *morin* on the 29th of the same month.  
 “ I had in consequence taken leave of the  
 “ King of England, and fixed this after-  
 “ noon, the 3d of July, for my departure.  
 “ But this morning, the Ambassador of  
 “ France came to my house, and brought  
 “ with him a Gentleman, whom he intro-  
 “ duced to me as a *M. de Boinville*, an  
 “ Aid-de-Camp of *M. de la Fayette’s*,  
 “ sent by his General from Paris, on Tues-  
 “ day the 29th, with a message to me.—  
 “ This *M. de Boinville* then told me, in  
 “ presence of the Ambassador, that *M. de*  
 “ *la Fayette* conjured me not to return to  
 “ Paris; and, among other reasons which  
 “ I did not think worthy of attention, he  
 “ mentioned one of a more important na-  
 “ ture, namely, commotions that might be  
 “ excited by ill-disposed persons, who  
 “ would not fail to make use of my name.  
 “ The particulars of this message and con-  
 “ versation are certified by the Ambassador  
 “ of France, in a writing, the original of  
 “ which I have, and a copy of which,  
 “ signed by me, is annexed to this. Doubt-



“ less, it is my duty not lightly to endanger the public tranquillity, and I have determined to put off my journey, yet only in the hope of being able to explain myself.

“ At the time of my departure for England, it was *M. de la Fayette* who first announced to me, on the part of the King, the proposal of undertaking a commission with which his Majesty wished to trust me. An account of the conversation which he had with me on this occasion is inserted in a narrative of my conduct, which I did not intend to make public till after my return to Paris, but which after this fresh incident I am resolved to publish immediately, and to lay the original on the table of the Assembly. It will there be seen, that among the reasons which *M. de la Fayette* urged for my accepting that commission, one of the principal was, that as my departure would take from the ill-disposed all pretence for using my name to excite commotions in Paris, he, *M. de la Fayette*, would the more easily maintain tranquillity in the Capital ; and this was one of the considerations that determined me. But although

“ I ac-

“ I accepted the commission, the Capital  
 “ has not been tranquil ; and if, in fact,  
 “ the promoters of tumults have not been  
 “ able to make use of my name to excite  
 “ them, they have not been afraid to raise  
 “ a score of libels upon it, for the pur-  
 “ pose of fixing the suspicions of them  
 “ upon me.

“ It is now time to know who are the ill-  
 “ disposed individuals, whose projects are  
 “ known, without any marks by which their  
 “ persons may be traced in order to be pu-  
 “ nished or repressed ; it is now time to  
 “ know why my name, more than any  
 “ other, should serve as a pretext for popu-  
 “ lar commotions ; it is now time to remove  
 “ the phantom, or indicate the reality.

“ In the mean time I declare, that since  
 “ the 25th of last month my opinion has  
 “ been, that my residence in England is no  
 “ longer of any use to the interests of the  
 “ Nation, or the King’s service ; that, in  
 “ consequence, I consider it a duty to  
 “ resume my employments as a mem-  
 “ ber of the National Assembly ; that I am  
 “ led thither from my own inclination ;  
 “ that the æra of the 14th of July, since  
 “ the Decrees of the Assembly, appears to  
 “ call

“ call me still more powerfully ; and that,  
“ unless the Assembly decide against it, and  
“ inform me of their decision, I shall persist  
“ in my original resolution. I also declare,  
“ that if, contrary to my expectation, the  
“ National Assembly should be of opinion  
“ that there is no ground to deliberate on  
“ my demand, I shall hold myself bound  
“ to conclude, that they think that all that  
“ has been said to me by this *M. Boin-*  
“ *ville* is to be regarded as if it never had  
“ passed ; and that there is no obstacle  
“ to my joining the Assembly, of which I  
“ have the honour to be a member.

“ I request you, Sir, after stating the  
“ facts to the Assembly, to lay the present  
“ account of them, signed by me, upon  
“ their table, and to solicit their determina-  
“ tion on this subject.

“ I send a copy of the present letter to his  
“ Majesty by *M. Montmorin*, and also to  
“ *M. de la Fayette*.

“ (Signed) *L. Ph. Joseph d'Orleans*.”

The letter being read, *M. de la Fayette*  
spoke as follows: “ After what passed be-  
“ tween the Duke of *Orleans* and me in  
“ the month of October, and which I  
“ should

“ should not have alluded to had he not  
 “ himself introduced it before the Assembly,  
 “ I thought I owed it to the Duke of *Or-*  
 “ *leans* to inform him that the same reasons  
 “ which had determined him to accept his  
 “ commission might still exist, and that  
 “ perhaps an ill use might be made of his  
 “ name to give some of those alarms, which  
 “ had indeed no effect on my mind, but  
 “ which, however, every good citizen must  
 “ wish avoided on a day consecrated to  
 “ general confidence and felicity.

“ As for *M. de Boinville*, he had been  
 “ in England six months, had come over to  
 “ pass some days here, and on his return to  
 “ London undertook to tell the Duke of *Or-*  
 “ *leans* what I have now repeated to the  
 “ Assembly.

“ Allow me, Gentlemen, to take this oc-  
 “ casion, as I am appointed by the Assem-  
 “ bly to guard the public tranquillity at  
 “ this grand epocha, to express to you my  
 “ sentiments on the subject. The nearer  
 “ the 14th of July approaches, the more  
 “ am I convinced that it must inspire as  
 “ much security as satisfaction. My opi-  
 “ nion is particularly founded on the patri-  
 “ otic dispositions of all the citizens, on

“ the zeal of the Parisian National Guard,  
“ and of our brothers in arms, who are  
“ coming from all parts of the Kingdom ;  
“ and as so great a number of the friends  
“ of the Constitution and of public order  
“ have never been before assembled, we  
“ shall be stronger than ever we were.”

The Duke *de Biron* spoke after *M. de la Fayette*, and extolled the important services that the Duke of *Orleans* had rendered to Liberty.

Another member of the Nobility moved, that the Assembly should pass to the order of the day, and his motion was adopted without opposition. This was quite enough to remove all obstacle to the Duke of *Orleans*'s return. He arrived at Paris on Saturday the 10th of July in the evening ; repaired the next day to the Assembly, mounted the tribune, and uttered some patriotic phrases, which he concluded with the civic oath that had been decreed by the Assembly in his absence, and to which he had assented at the time in a letter addressed to the President.

The situation of the *Champ de Mars*, its extent, and perhaps also its classical and military appellation, caused it to be considered as the most suitable spot for the festival of  
the

the Federation. The preparations required in so extensive an inclosure had for some days employed upwards of 12,000 workmen. It was nevertheless reported, that those preparations would not be finished for the day appointed. All the Districts immediately set themselves in motion, and every day they sent large detachments with spades and pick-axes. The enthusiasm soon spreading, caught the citizens of every condition, age, and sex, and set them all off for the *Champ de Mars*. The delicate dame in short coats, and the sturdy fishwoman; the dishevelled courtesan and the lay-sister; courtiers and butchers; the financier and the water-carrier; players and monks; seminaries, schools, old men and children, composed this immense moving scene of work, every point of which presented a curious or comical group. Here was a Carthusian digging up the earth, without turning his head, while the barrow was filled by girls of the town, and wheeled away by an oyster-wench; there, an Academician and Capuchin were yoked to the same dray, which was shoved behind by a Chevalier *de St. Louis*. A little farther were seen detachments of workmen from the neighbouring villages, with

with their Mayor in robes and their *Curé* at their head, proceeding all to work with the same ardour. The *Champ de Mars* was then truly a field of equality. Butts of wine were drawn in drays into the enclosure, to be distributed gratis to the labourers, while travelling taverns and portable shops were pitched round the outside, to supply more delicate refreshments to the genteel workmen, and the curious who flocked in multitudes to the place. Songs and shouts of joy mingled with the work; and the usual burdens of the patriotic airs were *Ca ira, Les Aristocrates a la lanterne, Crevent les Aristocrates*, and others of the same nature.

The great number of workmen, and their emulation, so rapidly advanced the works, that the fears of their not being completed by the 14th entirely vanished. But the editors of some patriotic journals attempted to raise fears of a much more serious nature. They boldly asserted a detection of a conspiracy to run mines under the *Champ de Mars*, and to blow up that and the Military School together. They advised the greatest precautions to be taken, and particularly a strict search to be made into the common sewers, where they affirmed that great quantities of powder

powder and combustible matter would be found. These were searched carefully by Commissioners, who found nothing but what should be found there; and on their report the Municipality invited all the citizens to throw off those groundless and ridiculous fears, to repose on their vigilance, and securely look forward to the festival of the 14th of July.

While the precautions and preparations which this festival required engaged the whole attention of the Municipality, the order that was to be observed, and the form of the oath to be taken at it, were under consideration in the National Assembly, and were regulated by the following Decree upon the Report of the Committee of Constitution :

“ Art. 1. The King shall be requested to  
 “ take the command of the National Guards  
 “ and troops sent to the general confederation of the 14th of July, and to appoint  
 “ Officers to command in his name and  
 “ under his orders.

“ Art. 2. At the ceremony the President  
 “ of the National Assembly shall be placed  
 “ at the King’s right hand, without any  
 “ person



“ person between the King and him. The  
“ Deputies shall be placed next to the right  
“ of the President and the left of the King.  
“ His Majesty shall be requested to give  
“ orders that the Royal Family be properly  
“ placed.

“ Art. 3. After the oath taken by the  
“ Deputies of the National Guards and  
“ other troops of the Kingdom, the Pre-  
“ sident of the National Assembly shall  
“ repeat the oath taken on the 4th of Fe-  
“ bruary last; after which the Members of  
“ the Assembly shall, each standing and  
“ holding up his hand, repeat, I SWEAR  
“ IT.

“ Art. 4. The oath to be then taken by the  
“ King shall be in these terms: I, King of  
“ the French, swear to the Nation to em-  
“ ploy all the power delegated to me by the  
“ Constitution of the State, to maintain the  
“ Constitution decreed by the National As-  
“ sembly and accepted by me, and to cause  
“ the laws to be executed.”

Before this decree was passed, a long and animated debate took place, in which the Royal Party gained no farther success than by causing the disposal of the Royal Family to

to be mentioned in the second article; and the title of First Citizen, which the Committee of Constitution would have had the King to take, to be omitted in the form of his Majesty's oath. It was observed, that the word *Citizen* implying equality, the expression of *First Citizen* was a solecism in terms.

The Bishop of *Clermont* declared in a very formal manner, that he should except from his oath all that regarded spiritual matters; and his declaration was not objected to by any person.

The burdens of the patriotic hymns in the *Champ de Mars* against the *Aristocrats*, were only in a manner a parody of the decrees passed at the time by the Assembly against the different classes meant by that fatal word. The property of the Clergy having been declared national, and the sale of the whole already ordered, there remained nothing more to plunder them of; but their complete disorganization in spiritual affairs formed also a part of the plan of the Revolutionary Reformers, and the Report on the division of the Kingdom into new metropolitan circles, as well as on the fixing of the

sees of the new bishoprics in each Department, took up the Sittings in the beginning of July. At the same time the Assembly decreed several articles of the new judicial plan, which entirely completed the annihilation of the ancient magistracy.

... About the same period the *Advocate Camus*, in the name of the Committee of Pensions, gave a Report the most suited to cause all who had shared those favours to be considered as so many greedy and contemptible intriguers, who had practised the most criminal means to plunder the public treasury. "The courtiers and intriguers," said he "got all, while they who were really entitled, remained destitute of assistance. That was not the only abuse; a multitude of titles were heaped on the same head, which makes this expence amount not only to thirty millions, but, if doucesses and pensions are added, to fifty-eight millions—from which we have been induced to propose the total abolition of pensions, gifts, and gratifications, existing on the 1st of January 1790, or which may have been granted since. Be not, however, alarmed; for at the same time that we demand

“ their suppression, we propose to you to  
 “ create a certain portion to the amount of  
 “ ten millions, and they who have deserved  
 “ them need not fear that the claims of  
 “ people unworthy of that reward shall be  
 “ preferred: yet as to those who have no  
 “ title, we must not throw them into de-  
 “ spondency; a sum of four millions must  
 “ be applied for them, which shall be gra-  
 “ dually decreased. It is proposed to sup-  
 “ press also, 1st. The governments of the  
 “ provinces, and castles which do not re-  
 “ quire residence: these are,” continued he,  
 “ in the military line what abbeys are in the  
 “ ecclesiastical order, that is to say, they an-  
 “ swer no purpose\*. 2dly. The settlement

\* This pettifogger, it is clear, did not know, that in the noble profession of arms, that in the opinion of the French chivalry, moderate appointments attached to an honourable title, though without employment, rewarded an heroic action, an important or glorious service, a thousand times more than a pension of double the income could have done. It was the same with respect to the ecclesiastical order. In this view, therefore, it was true economy to preserve the governments and the abbeys, by invariably referring the distribution of those favours to the object of their institution.

“ of pensions on the descendants of the person to whom they were granted.”

A few days after, the Assembly, on the continuation of this Report, decreed the rules of economy, or rather of sordid niggardliness, according to which the pensions and gratifications were to be granted: which shows that I was not wrong when I said, that the people in the *Champ de Mars* in singing *Crevent les Aristocrates* parodied and chanted what the Assembly decreed.

The Ministers also formed a class of Aristocrats; and for some time they had in turn been the object of abuse among the editors of newspapers, of suspicions among the Committees of Inquiry, and in general of the most serious denunciations, which, though destitute of proofs, were admitted with avidity by the credulity of the multitude, and which the Assembly themselves but very feebly repressed. The idolatry which had been bestowed on Mr. *Necker* was entirely out of fashion; the golden calf was no longer worshipped. The Count *de la Luzerne*, the Minister of the Navy, a true and faithful servant of the King, found himself reduced

reduced to the necessity of drawing up and publishing a large volume, to refute the atrocious charges impudently brought against him in a denunciation laid before the National Assembly by some worthless people of St. Domingo. *M. de St. Priest*, whose ardent and invariable devotion to the King had drawn upon him several attacks equally unjust, was obliged, a few days before the Federation, to repel a fresh one of a much more serious nature. The Solicitor of the *Commune*, by desire of the Committee of Inquiry for the town, who said they had consulted with the Committee of Inquiry of the National Assembly, accused him of treason against the Nation, and of being combined in a pretended conspiracy set on foot by *M. de Maillebois* and *M. de Bonne-Savardin*. This charge was founded solely on a kind of journal or memorandum found among the papers of *M. de Bonne-Savardin*, who had been arrested, and on the suspicion that the name of *Farcy* applied to *M. de St. Priest*. As soon as he was informed of the accusation laid against him by the Solicitor of the *Commune*, he refuted it with force and dignity in a letter which he wrote

to the Assembly ; by which he prevented the ill effect that such an imputation could not have failed to produce on that occasion had it remained unanswered\*.

Meanwhile the Deputies sent from the Provinces to the Federation were daily arriving in crowds in the Capital. The Parisian National Guard paid to those who had arrived the compliment of associating them in the guard of the King and of the Assembly, and the most perfect cordiality seemed to reign among them. On Saturday the 10th of July, in the afternoon, the Deputation of the Bretons arrived with their arms and baggage, and halted at the Tuilleries under the King's windows. Their Commander, with whom I was well acquainted

\* *M. de Bonne-Savardin* escaped from the prison of the *Abbaye* on the 13th of July, at nine o'clock at night, by means of a counterfeit order from the Committee of Inquiry, which was carried to the jailer by two of his friends dressed in the uniform of the National Guard, who having a hackney coach with them went with him into it and carried him off. He was afterwards arrested on the 28th of July at Chalons on the Marne with the *Abbé de Barment*, a Member of the Assembly, who had given him a place in his carriage.

in Britany\*, was not deficient in spirit, but his imagination was rather too ardent, and he had a familiarity which nothing could repress. He did not hesitate a moment to go into the Palace, where he obtained admission to the King, made him a speech extremely loyal, and concluded with bending down to his Majesty's knees to embrace them. The King raised him, and, pressing him in his arms with a truly paternal kindness, said: "Give this embrace from me  
 " to all your comrades, and tell them how  
 " much I feel at the sentiments you have  
 " expressed to me in their name." The lively emotion with which his Majesty pronounced these words could leave no doubt of their sincerity. The scene greatly affected all who witnessed it, and at the instant the Palace every where resounded with the shouts of *Vive le Roi!*

On the 11th the King reviewed some divisions of the National Guard. The Queen

\* His name was *Putot de Thievant*: he was a physician commissioned by the King to superintend epidemic diseases in Britany, under the command of the Intendant; but the perpetual quarrels in which the excessive ardour of his zeal involved him, very rarely admitted of his being employed.



was present with her children; and their Majesties paid the most flattering attention to the Federates, who were upon the ground in very great numbers.

On the 12th the Federates of Tours, accompanied by the Deputies of Touraine to the National Assembly, were presented to the King, to whom they offered the ring which *Henry IV.* had given to the Benedictines of Marmoutier near Tours, in memory of the signal services of the faithful Touranese; and besought his Majesty to deign to wear that ring on his finger on the 14th of July. The King was highly pleased at this mark of respect, and, in his reply to the speech that accompanied it, said, that he should with great pleasure wear *Henry* the Fourth's ring on that day.

On the day before the Federation, *M. de la Fayette* presented the Chiefs of the Deputation of all the National Guards of the Kingdom to the King, and in their name addressed the following speech to his Majesty:

“ SIRE,

“ In the course of the remarkable events  
“ which have restored imprescriptible rights  
“ to us, while the energy of the People and  
“ the

“ the virtues of their King have set such  
 “ great examples to nations and their sove-  
 “ reigns, we delight to revere in your  
 “ Majesty the noblest of all titles, that of  
 “ Head of the French, and King of a free  
 “ People.

“ Enjoy, Sire, the reward of your vir-  
 “ tues, and let these pure offerings of re-  
 “ spect, which despotism cannot com-  
 “ mand, be the glory and the recompense of  
 “ a Citizen-King. You wished that we  
 “ should have a Constitution founded on  
 “ liberty and public order; liberty is fe-  
 “ cured to us, and our zeal will secure pub-  
 “ lic order.

“ The National Guards of France swear  
 “ to your Majesty an obedience that shall  
 “ have no bounds but the law, no end but  
 “ that of their lives.”

The affectionate and warm reply which  
 his Majesty made to this speech, was a strik-  
 ing contrast to the extreme coldness of that  
 constitutional love offered to him by *M. de  
 la Fayette*, and made the Federates regret  
 that they had not at their head a more faith-  
 ful interpreter of their sentiments.

“ I am

“ I am delighted,” said the King, “ with  
“ the testimonies of affection and attach-  
“ ment which you give me in the name of  
“ the National Guards assembled from all  
“ parts of France. May the solemn day,  
“ on which you are about to renew in com-  
“ mon your oath to the Constitution, dis-  
“ pel all dissensions, restore tranquillity,  
“ and fix the reign of liberty and law  
“ throughout the Kingdom ! Defenders of  
“ the public order ! friends of the laws and  
“ of liberty ! reflect that your first duty is  
“ to maintain order and to submit to the  
“ laws ; that the benefit of a free constitu-  
“ tion should be equal to all ; that the greater  
“ the freedom of man the more heinous are  
“ offences committed against liberty, the  
“ more heinous all acts of violence and con-  
“ straint which are not commanded by the  
“ law.

“ Tell your fellow-citizens from me, that  
“ I would gladly have spoken to them all ;  
“ as I speak to you now : tell them from  
“ me, that their King is their father, their  
“ brother, their friend ; that he cannot be  
“ happy but as they are happy ; great, but  
“ as they are glorious ; powerful, but as  
“ they

“ they are free ; rich, but as they are prof-  
 “ perous ; and that if they suffer, he suffers  
 “ with them. Above all, carry my words,  
 “ or rather the feelings of my heart, into  
 “ humble cottages, and to the retreats of the  
 “ unfortunate : tell them, that though it is  
 “ not in my power to accompany you per-  
 “ sonally to their sheds, I wish to be ever  
 “ present with them by my affection, and  
 “ by enforcing the laws, the guardians  
 “ of the people ; that I shall watch over  
 “ them, live for them, and *if necessary*  
 “ *die for them*. And tell the different Pro-  
 “ vinces of my Kingdom, that the sooner  
 “ I am permitted by circumstances to ac-  
 “ complish the gratification of the wish I  
 “ have formed to visit them, with my fa-  
 “ mily, the happier I shall be.”

On the 14th, at six o'clock in the morn-  
 ing, the Federates, who had assembled in  
 the great street of the *Fauxbourg St. An-*  
*toine*, repaired to the boulevard of the  
 Temple, where the Deputation of each De-  
 partment received its banners\*. This im-  
 mense

\* All these banners were ordered by the Commune of  
 Paris at their own expence. On one side was the name  
 of

menſe train filed along the boulevard, turned into the *rue St. Denis*, paſſed through the *rue de la Ferronnerie*, the *rue St. Honoré*, as far as the *Place Louis XV*, the Queen's Road, and the highway below *Chaillot* to the bridge of boats that had been formed oppoſite to the Military School, to be the avenue to the *Champ de Mars*.

The proceſſion was opened by a troop of horſe of the National Guard, with a ſtandard and four trumpets. The Commander of the cavalry and the Major were at the head of this detachment. The train then continued in the following order :—A company of Grenadiers, preceded by a band of muſic and drums ; the Electors of Paris ; a company of Volunteers ; the Representatives of the Communes ; the Military Committee ; a company of Rangers ; the drums of the town ; the Preſidents of the Diſtricts ; the Deputies of the Commune for the Federal Compact ; the ſixty Magiſtrates of the Municipality, accompanied by the Town Guards ; another band of muſic and drums ; the battalion of Cadets or the Military apprentices ;

of the Department, and the word *Conſtitution*, and on the other, *The National Federation at Paris*, July 14, 1790.

the

the battalion of Veterans; the Deputations of the forty-two first Departments, according to alphabetical order, each with their colours and drums at their head; the National Assembly, who joined the procession by the draw-bridge of the garden of the Tuilleries, surrounded by detachments and colours of the Parisian National Guards: after them came the Deputations of the troops of the line and of the naval forces, preceded by the Royal *Oriflamb*, carried between two Marshals of France, who were at the head of this Deputation; then followed the General Officers; those on the Staff of the Army; those of the Artillery and Engineers; the Deputies of all the regiments of Foot, Cavalry, Dragoons, Hussars, and Rangers, according to their rank; the troops of the King's Household and of those of his Majesty's brothers; the Officers of the Navy, with the Count *d'Estaing* at their head, and the Deputations of the remaining forty-one Departments. The procession was closed by a company of Volunteer Rangers, and a detachment of the Parisian National Guard, having a standard and two trumpets.

The showy and tasty dresses of the Deputations

putations of the National Guards, the airiness of their gait, the jollity of the spectators, their songs and shouts, gave this spectacle the joyous and animated appearance of a popular festival. The Deputations of the regiments composed of the veterans of the army had less sprightliness, and were remarked for the serenity of their countenance; the looks of all being turned, with a most lively interest, on the *Gardes-du-Corps*, testified to them the general recollection of the proofs they had given of their courageous fidelity. The heavy rain that fell on these battalions during the whole of their march, in which they often halted, did not lessen the vivacity of their raptures. The multitude that lined the whole of their way, the crowded windows, the indifference of the Federates and their retinue to the weather, the dead silence afterwards reigning within the town, which was absolutely deserted, all concurred to increase the extraordinary effect of the view which the Capital and its environs presented at this moment.

The arrival of the Federates in the *Champ de Mars*, as well as that of the King, and  
of

of the National Assembly, were announced by a general discharge of cannon. The Deputations of the Departments proceeded with the greatest order to the places pointed out to them.

To any one who was not present it would be difficult to give a just idea of the magnificent sight presented by this vast amphitheatre raised in the *Champ de Mars*. On the terrace of the Military School, which stood at the upper end of the field fronting the avenue from the river, there was raised a crescent of steps, the top of which formed a platform, where the King's tribune, the seats of the National Assembly, and some common tribunes were placed. Over this platform was stretched an awning of sail-cloth, ornamented with *fleurs de lys*, and streamers of the National colours. The white flag was flying in the middle, above the King's tribune. On each side of this elevation a circle of thirty rows of steps was raised, with a very gentle ascent, where the spectators were commodiously seated; and behind whom there still remained room enough for several more rows of persons to stand. Upwards of three hundred thousand  
souls



fouls occupied this circumference, in various parts of which passages were amply provided.

In the middle of the *Champ de Mars* was erected the National Altar, having four fronts, ornamented with figures, and loaded with inscriptions. One was *Voltaire's* famous couplet, which the Assembly had been enlarging upon in the first chapter of the Constitution:

*Les mortels sont égaux ; ce n'est pas la naissance,  
C'est la seule vertu qui fait la différence.*

An excellent religious maxim, but as absurd in politics, and as completely false in almost all the relations between man and man, as it is just and consolatory in an evangelical sense, that is to say, in the relations of Man with the Supreme Being.

The following couplet was also among the others : it contains a more unequivocal truth, and really applicable to social Liberty.

*La Loi dans tout état doit être universelle ;  
Les mortels, quels qu'ils soient, sont égaux devant elle.*

A third

A third inscription was composed of these words :—

*La Nation, la Loi, et le Roi. La Nation c'est Vous.  
La Loi c'est encore Vous, c'est votre Volonté. Le  
Roi c'est le Gardien de la Loi.*

The Nation, the Law, and the King. The Nation, that is yourselves. The Law, that is yourselves—it is your will. The King, that is the Guardian of the Law.

At the extremity of the inclosure, on the side next the river, there was a grand triumphal arch, overloaded with trophies, emblems, allegorical figures, and inscriptions in lines to look like verse, but which were bad prose in bad rhyme. Of these I shall give but one example :

*Consacrés au travail de la Constitution*

*Nous le terminerons :*

*Le pauvre sous ce défenseur*

*Ne craindra plus que l'oppresséur*

*Lui ravisse son héritage :*

*Tout nous offre d'heureux présages,*

*Toute flatte nos desirs.*

*Douce Paiz ! loin de nous écarte les orages*

*Et comble nos plaisirs.*

It was through this triumphal arch, placed

at the foot of the bridge of boats, that the Federates and the Assembly entered the *Champ de Mars*, amidst the firing of the cannon, at three o'clock in the afternoon.— The King and Royal Family entered by the Military School. The Federates ranged themselves in elliptical lines; and, in the interior of the inclosure, between them and the steps of the fides, were placed the Parisian National Guard. The circular amphitheatre, as before observed, was occupied by about three hundred thousand spectators, and the arena by thirty thousand soldiers.— The crescent before the Military School was occupied by the King on the Throne, to the right of which, three or four inches lower, was placed the chair of the President of the Assembly. The Queen and the Royal Family were in an alcove behind the King's tribune. The covered gallery which ran on each side of this tribune was filled with the members of the National Assembly, the substitutes, (*suppleans*) and the Magistracy. On the other side of the river, opposite to the *Champ de Mars*, were seen the rising grounds of Chaillot and Passy, covered by innumerable crowds of spectators.

tors. Such was the whole of this immense picture.

The Royal *Oriflamb*, or standard, and the eighty-three banners of the Departments formed a quadruple line, semicircular before the Altar. The Bishop of *Autun*, who officiated, pronounced the blessing upon them after the Mass. *M. de la Fayette*, who was appointed by the King Major-General of the Federation, then gave the signal for the taking of the oath, and, ascending the Altar, pronounced it, while the spectators held up their hands, and the Federates their drawn swords, in token of assent. The President of the Assembly next rose, and took the same oath, which was immediately repeated by his colleagues, and by all the Federates. The King rose last, and pronounced his oath according to the form decreed by the National Assembly; after which, the Queen, raising the Dauphin in her arms, showed him several times to the people, and to the army, on which they all broke out into the liveliest demonstrations of love for their Monarch and his august Family. The oaths were all followed by a general discharge of the guns of the Invalids and Mi-

litary School. At the conclusion of the oaths, the *TE DEUM* was chanted by the Bishop of *Autun*, and performed by the band of music stationed near the Altar. The ceremony was concluded by the waving of thousands of hats in the air, and by general shouts of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!*

Few accidents happened to disturb the joy of the day. The worst was the sinking in of one of the ends of the bridge of boats, in the return from the *Champ de Mars*.—The persons who were on that part at the time, fell into the boats that supported the bridge, and escaped with some slight bruises; but the sudden press of the crowd on the part that had not given way, threw some persons over into the river: none, however, were drowned.

After the ceremony, part of the Federates went to the *Chateau de la Muette*, where tables were laid for them; others returned to Paris, and some set off that very evening for the country. *M. de la Fayette* appeared at the feast at *la Muette*, where, as had been the case at the *Champ de Mars*, the homage, the caresses, the embraces, and  
all

all the demonstrations of popular idolatry, which Mr. *Necker* had enjoyed the preceding July, were lavished on him.

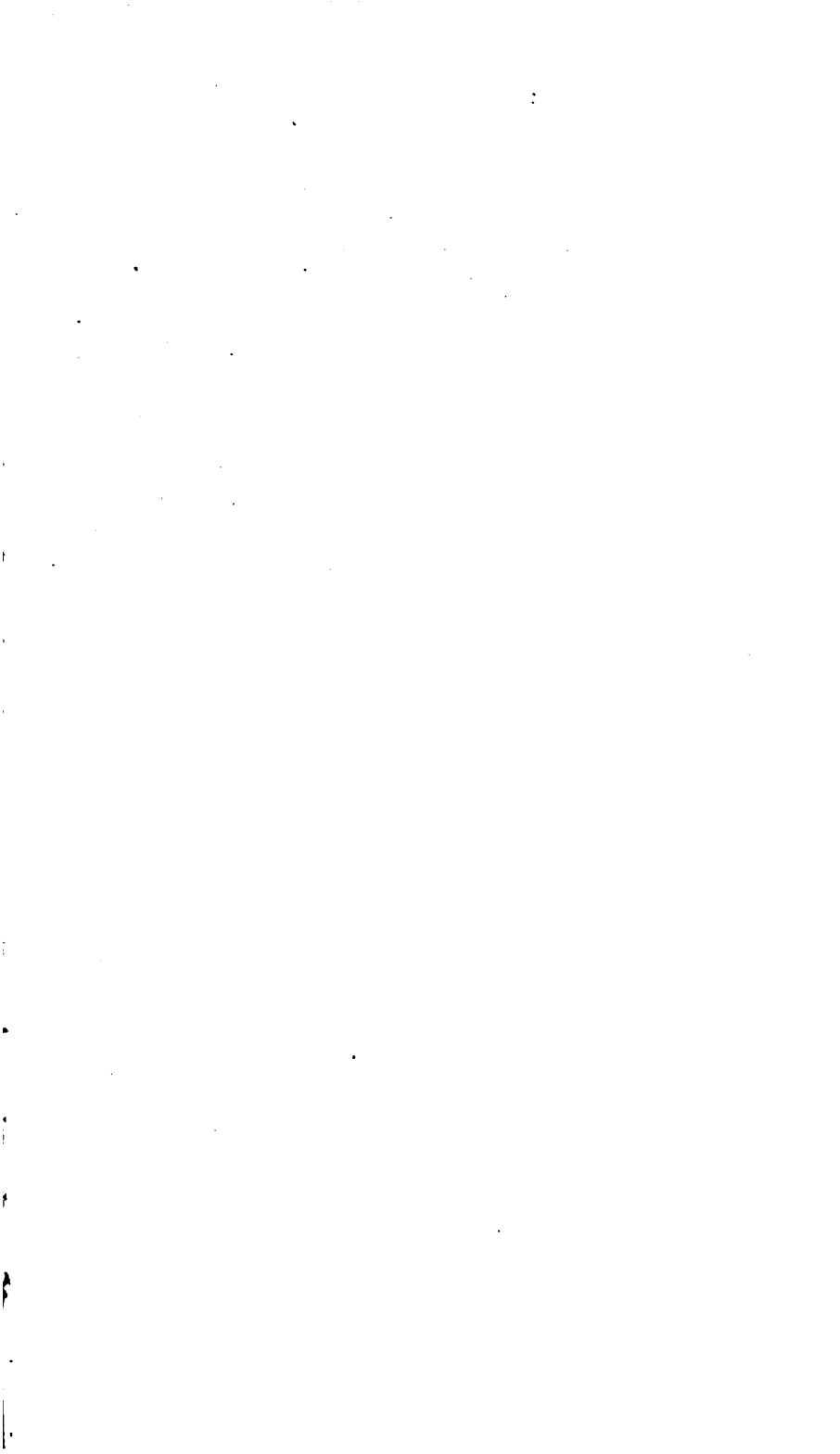
The Deputies to the *Fédération* continued feasting and amusing themselves for several days. The people gave themselves up to rapture: their joy was marked with no disorder, but always mingled with some vociferations against the *Aristocrats*. On the Sunday following, (*July 18th*) they assembled again in the *Champ de Mars*, where they sang and danced, and eat and drank, all the day long. *M. de la Fayette* reviewed a part of the army there, and also some of the National Guards of the Departments, who had not set out on their return. A balloon had been prepared, but it unfortunately burst and wounded several persons. At night there was a show upon the Seine, fire-works on the *Pont-Royal*, and balls on the ruins of the *Bastille*, in the Corn Market, and at the *Champs Elisées*, which were magnificently illuminated, as was likewise every part of the town.

Thus was celebrated this famous festival, the striking solemnity of which will for ever perpetuate to the disgrace of France,  
the

the memory of the falsest oath ever taken ;  
for all who took it have been forsworn, the  
King alone excepted. Alas ! he paid dearly  
for that fatal fidelity !

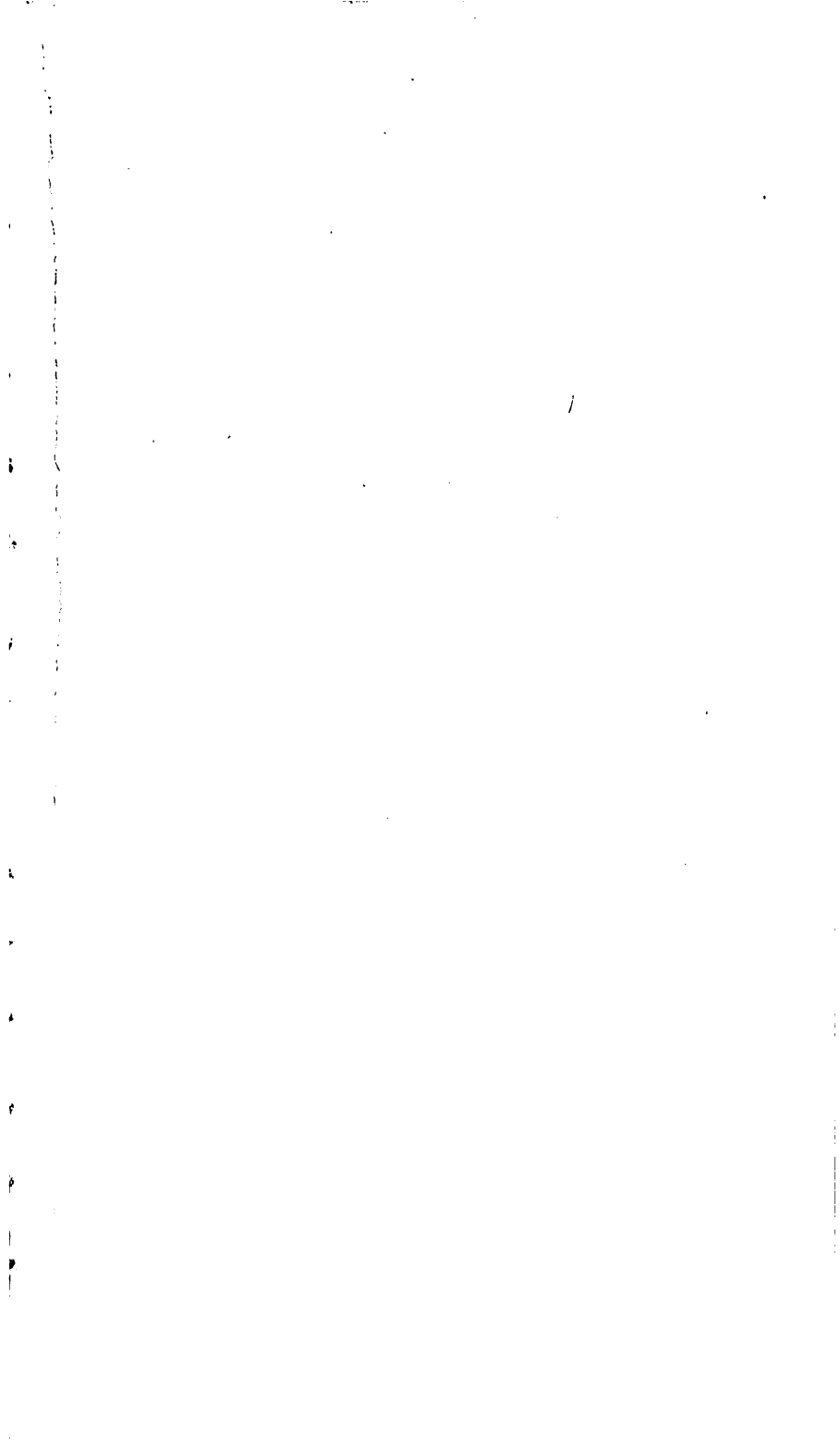
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